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# CONCEPT OF REPRESSION



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# CONCEPT OF REPRESSION

BY

GIRINDRASHEKHAR BOSE

D.Sc., (Cal.), M.B., (Cal.)

LECTURER IN PSYCHOANALYSIS AND ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY,  
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, EXAMINER IN EXPERIMENTAL  
PSYCHOLOGY AND PHYSIOLOGY, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,  
FORMERLY LECTURER IN PHYSIOLOGY, CALCUTTA  
MEDICAL SCHOOL

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## PREFACE

I had been keen on hypnotism in my early days, and had been practising it to therapeutic ends while yet a student for about nine years, before I came across psychoanalysis in 1909. By the end of that year I began treating cases by the psychoanalytic method. A want of knowledge of the German language rendered my work very difficult and I had to depend mainly on magazine articles and scrappy references for information.

At that period there was no systematic description of psychoanalysis in any book in English. Many truths which I then found out from my analysis of patients, and which I accounted original, were in fact widely known findings as I discovered afterwards. This was both a pleasure and a disappointment to me.

In the early stages of my psychoanalytic practice, the subject would hardly awaken interest in anybody here apart from my patients, and no

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interchange of thought was possible. Even at present the number of medical men who are familiar with the subject is very limited. The outlook, however, seems brighter. We owe our grateful thanks to Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., D.L., Ph.D., C.S.I., &c., President of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science and of the Boards of Higher Studies, by whose energy Experimental Psychology is now a subject of the M.Sc. and M.A. Courses of the Calcutta University; and psychoanalysis, forming part of the curriculum, can no longer affect obscurity. For this the University is also indebted to Dr. Brojendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., King George V Professor of Philosophy.

This book embodies the result of my work during the last eleven years, and is intended for technical readers only. I have laid stress on the general deductions, and have purposely avoided insertion of illustrative cases. The materials have thus been uncommonly compressed. This is liable to convey the impression that the theories discussed

in the following pages are mere speculative products. As a matter of fact every generalisation has been arrived at from a large number of specific cases, and the whole theory has gradually and spontaneously evolved out of my observations of two decades. Important findings have often been disposed of in a few words. I have reserved their amplification for another book.

Wherever I have been able to trace any similarity to my views, I have mentioned the reference in the footnote. My main findings are likely to appear at first sight to be very sweeping and dogmatic, but I should like my reader to test them in his own practice before hazarding condemnation. I am fully convinced of their truth.

My views on pleasantness and unpleasantness, and my theory of the opposite wish are specially apt to evoke criticism. It is possible that some of my deductions which I claim to be original may not be really so. In fact there is nothing new under the sun. As seekers after truth, we ought to be more

ardent for truth itself than any claim to priority of discovery.

I am deeply indebted to my patients who have helped me with their introspective experience in unravelling the mysteries of the mind, and to them I would return my cordial thanks. I am also extremely grateful to my friend Mr. Kartick Charan Neogy for the elucidation of certain important mental mechanisms. My thanks are also due to my brothers and to my friend Mr. Jatindra Kumar Sen, the renowned artist, for valuable suggestions. Finally I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my esteemed friend, Mr. Brojendranath Banerji, the eminent historian, for the tedious task of reading through the proof-sheets. It would have been impossible to publish the book without his help.

14, PARSİ BAGAN,  
Calcutta, August, 1920.

GIRINDRASHEKHAR BOSE

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# CONCEPT OF REPRESSION

## CHAPTER I

### BODY AND MIND

The question of the relationship between mind and matter has interested philosophers and scientists from time immemorial. The states of consciousness are believed by some to be the product of the activity of the nervous apparatus, "just as bile is the product of the activity of the liver cell or as contraction results from the activity of the muscles." This theory is based on the observation that the mental states depend on the integrity of the nervous apparatus and that lesions and toxins affecting the brain influence the mental state also. The reasoning underlying this supposition is that because nervous tissue is essential for the manifestation of consciousness, therefore nervous tissue produces consciousness. But the mental phenomena are quite different from the physical ones and belong to a different plane altogether.



We cannot conceive how certain physical changes in the nerve apparatus can lead to the production of a psychical state such as sensation. One cannot therefore be the cause of another. If we believe that mind and matter belong to separate planes and cannot affect each other, we are confronted with certain difficulties. How is it that the will in me to execute a movement results in that movement? How is it that a stiff dose of alcohol will immediately change the mental state of an individual? It is a matter of common experience that abnormal mental states affect the bodily conditions and *vice versa*. If we assume once for all, as the interactionists do, that mind and matter do not belong to different planes but they act on each other, all the above facts may be easily explained. But directly we begin to look into this theory critically we are assailed with certain difficulties. These difficulties have been very well summed up by Titchener\* in a series of questions. "Where does the body end and mind begin? Do

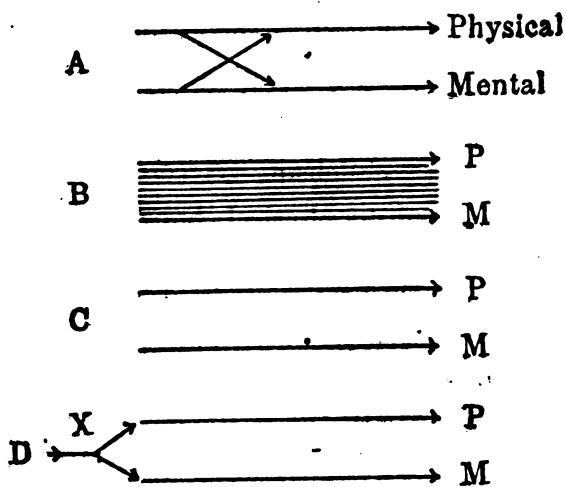
\* Titchener. *Text Book of Psychology*, 1911, p. 14

the senses belong to mind or to body? Is the mind always active and the body always passive? Do body and mind ever act independently of each other?" Questions such as above are very hard to meet and would lead us into logical pitfalls. Further the facts of experience do not necessitate the postulation of such a theory and it would go against the law of conservation of energy.

The rival theory to interactionism is that of psychophysical parallelism. According to this view the psychical and the physical changes run a parallel course but one is not the cause of the other. There are several different schools of psychophysical parallelists. According to some "the subject matter of psychology and the subject matter of physiology are simply two aspects of the same world of experience. They cannot influence each other because they are not separate and independent things." The other school would not like to definitely postulate any sort of relationship between the physical and the mental beyond postulating that they run a parallel course. There are still others who would assert that

the physical and the mental changes are the results of the same common factor in two different directions. We might illustrate the view points diagrammatically as follows :—

Fig. 1



Taking the standpoint of A (interactionism) in searching for the causation of a particular mental change we have to look to both the P and M lines, i.e., both physical and mental factors. From the standpoint of B (parallelism) we look for the causation in the line M only. According to this view point

M can never exist without the existence of P. According to the point of view of C we would look for the causation of mental change in the line M only as in B, but the possibility of P and M existing apart from each other remains an open question. According to the standpoint of D we would look for the causation of a mental change or for the matter of that of a physical change also in the line X but as the line X is not directly apprehensible we would rest contented by trying to find immediately antecedent changes in the line M where the mental phenomenon is under investigation.

We cannot accept the standpoint of the interactionist because we can never conceive how a material thing can influence or be influenced by an immaterial thing. The differences in the standpoints of the different schools of parallelists do not count at all, being of philosophical nature. So long as we postulate the parallel relationship we need not go any further to account for the facts hitherto known.

---

## CHAPTER II

### THEORY OF THE SUBCONSCIOUS

Before discussing the theory of the subconscious, I should like to make my position as regards the doctrine of psychophysical parallelism—in its application to abnormal psychology—quite clear. I am only directly conscious of my own mental processes. The mental processes in others are a matter of inference to me from their behaviour. The behaviour of others, *i.e.*, the physical changes that are directly observable in other individuals may be a matter of direct experience to me as objective manifestations. Ordinarily speaking, my *objective experience* is as much a reality to me as my *subjective experience*, although the one may be derived from the other. Both may be styled under the common term *direct experience*. The subjective experience of another person is not a matter of direct experience to me, but is only an indirect inference from analogy. Therefore, strictly speaking, we ought to consider in our

psychological studies only the behaviour of others. This is the behaviouristic school. From practical considerations, however, it would be found more convenient to describe a person's behaviour in some cases in terms of the mind, rather than in terms of the body, e.g., it is much easier to say that A gets angry when he is called a fool than to describe all the different physiological changes in A under the influence of air vibrations corresponding to the word *fool*. We might thus describe a person's behaviour using the word in its wider sense either in terms of the mind or in terms of the body. But it should always be noted that as we cannot conceive of mind acting on body or *vice versa*, we ought to stick to one particular line of description. Of course ordinarily it does not matter much if we confuse body and mind, but in scientific descriptions, specially when a causation has to be sought for, it is extremely desirable that we should strictly limit ourselves to only one set of terminology. Where the usage of language or carelessness on our part in description results in the confusion of two sets of terminology, viz., for the

body and mind, we should be on our guard as regards the interpretation. The causation of all psychic states should therefore be described in terms of antecedent psychic states and on no account are we justified in bringing in physiological terms. It is as much an error to say that 'we are sorry because we cry' as to say 'we cry because we are sorry'. Weber, Fechner, Wundt and others fought against the inroads of metaphysics and philosophy into psychology. It is high time that in pure psychology we dispensed with physiology altogether, demarcating the province of physiological psychology from psychology proper. The progress of psychology has actually been hindered by physiological concepts. When we try to make out a theory for memory and call in cerebral changes and vibrations to our aid we commit a mistake of this sort. For us, therefore, psychophysical parallelism is a logical necessity for keeping the two possible modes of description separate.

It is a peculiarity of human mind that it can never rest satisfied unless it finds a cause for a phenomenon whether it be of the psychical or the

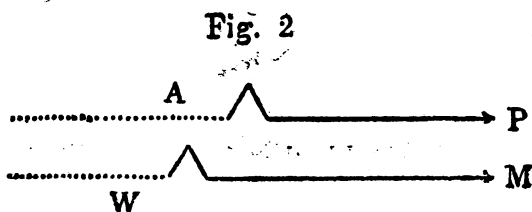
physical order. We would not allow any discontinuity in our experience. This demand for continuity and causation makes us conceive hypotheses and theories to explain phenomena when their causes are not readily apparent. As we cannot conceive of matter being affected by immaterial mind or mind by matter, our psychological hypotheses and conceptions should be rigorously free from physical taint. Whenever we assert anything beyond the scope of direct experience we are postulating a theory. When we say that a particular impression is stored up in the brain or the mind, we must clearly understand that this is a theoretic assumption necessitated by the demand for continuity and causation. When a thought or an image suddenly flashes into our mind we are impelled to find a cause for it, but such a causation is necessarily a hypothetical causation and must be of the psychic order, as the phenomenon is psychical. It would, therefore, be more logical to say that the thought or image remained in our mind in a sort of latent form below the level of consciousness than to assert that it remained there as a cortical



impression. The concept of the subconscious thus becomes a logical necessity. We shall return to this point again later on.

Now let us discuss some of the difficulties of the parallelistic theories. We find it impossible to conceive that mind can act on matter, but directly we want to raise our hand we can do so. Here obviously the will, which is a mental phenomenon, has led to a movement which is physical. Then again how are we to explain the action of such substances as alcohol on the mind?

Let us take the instance of a will resulting in action. According to the parallelistic doctrine we would explain the physical movement as resulting from physical causes, thus :—



The series of dots in the line P would denote the succession of changes, appreciated or unappreciated,

which led to the movement A. The movement is therefore not an isolated phenomenon in the physical plane but an inevitable consequence of antecedent changes. It is physical change alone that leads to physical movements. In our illustration corresponding with these physical changes, we will have psychical changes, appreciated or unappreciated, leading to the evolution of the will to move, W, Fig. 2.

We are compelled to assume the occurrence of the changes in the psychical plane as much as we did in the physical plane, owing to the demand for causation and continuity. It should be noted that when such a change either in the physical or in the mental line remains unappreciated, it is of a hypothetical nature. The will, therefore, corresponds to the physical phase immediately preceding the movement, the movement itself being represented in the psychic line by action consciousness. Under this view it would appear that the will was as much inevitable as the movement, *i.e.*, the psychophysical parallelist is a determinist. It would be wrong to say that the will caused the movement, although

to the individual this appears to be so. It is a sort of illusion so to speak. It is not necessary to assume that all physical changes in the body are accompanied by corresponding conscious psychical changes. But if a series of changes of the physical order is associated with something which brings about a change in consciousness, it would be necessary to assume corresponding subconscious changes in the psychic line, because otherwise there would be difficulty in explaining the sudden emergence of the consciousness. The theory of the subconscious is thus a logical necessity, if we accept the parallelistic doctrine. Corresponding to the will in voluntary actions, we have got to assume subconscious will in somnambolic, automatic, reflex and other similar actions. This variety of subconscious will would correspond to the biological purpose of such actions. If the action does not affect the consciousness in any way whatever, there would be no necessity for such an assumption. We can thus have subconscious perceptions, *i.e.*, stimuli which lead to actions involving consciousness without themselves being conscious.

And if we assume feeling to be inciter of action we will have to assume sometimes unconscious feelings and emotions. My own view is however that feelings are strictly speaking associated with actions and only indirectly with perceptions. Hence I do not find any necessity for supposing unconscious feelings and emotions. I have explained my position clearly later on. The subconscious is thus a mere concept and is of use in so far as it helps us to understand our psychae. It happens very often in abnormal cases that the patient's behaviour, strictly speaking its psychological aspect, can only be explained on the supposition of a wish of the subconscious type. We are quite at liberty to explain the disease in physiological terms but it is much more profitable from the practical standpoint to describe the motive of the illness in terms of this subconscious wish rather than in terms of brain changes. So long as such a wish remains in the unconscious plane the patient can only be aware of it indirectly and as such it is mere hypothesis although so very useful a one. If it so happens that psychoanalysis is able to bring

this wish to consciousness, the wish ceases to be hypothetical as it can be directly appreciated by the patient. The theory of the subconscious wish gains justification from such cases which are very common in the domain of abnormal psychology. The immense importance of the theory of the subconscious is illustrated in Freud's concept of repression. Working along this line numerous workers have been able to confirm the presence of subconscious mental activities. According to the theory of repression when two wishes of a contradictory nature are in operation simultaneously one of them gets repressed and sinks below the level of consciousness. Such a repressed subconscious wish is not extinguished but continues to affect our behaviour in diverse abnormal ways. Our reasoning power has no control over such a wish. When by special technique the patient is made to appreciate this repressed wish, the disease symptoms vanish. Much of the behaviour of the lunatic, hysteric, psychoneurotic and others of the same type, which hitherto remained unexplained, can now be explained by Freud's supposition.

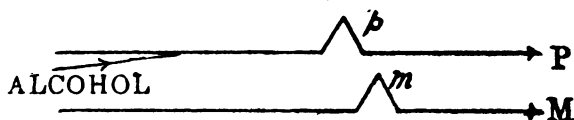
Now, how are we to account for the psychical action of such a drug as alcohol? The alcohol produces changes in the body and, corresponding to such a change, there is a mental change. If we forget the necessity for causation and continuance there is no difficulty in explaining the psychic change, but if we are to find the cause for the psychic event, we cannot assert that bodily changes have brought it about. We must indicate that cause in the psychic line. How does the existence of previous psychic states explain the sudden change after a drink of alcohol? We might conceive that a previous store of psychic energy is liberated. But here again we must pause to think out a cause for it.

Let us represent the mental and the physical sides and the effect of alcohol by our conventional diagram, Fig. 3.

The physical change  $p$  is explained as due to the influence of energy from alcohol. How is the psychical change to be explained? The energy from alcohol, which is physical, is capable of bringing out a physical change only. I think there is only one

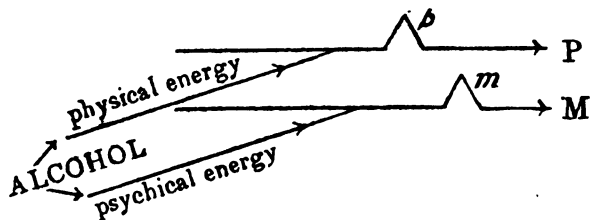
way out of this difficulty. We must assume some sort of psychical energy in the alcohol corresponding

Fig. 3



to its physical energy. Our diagram would now look like this :—

Fig. 4



Had there been no alcohol there would have been no *m*, and *m* by our supposition of psychophysical parallelism can only be produced by an energy of the psychic type. The assumption of the psychical counterpart of the physical energy of alcohol is therefore a matter of logical necessity. Such an

assumption looks very far-fetched at first sight. We do not however hesitate to posit a psychic counterpart of the body which is merely an agglomeration of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, phosphorus, sulphur and some other elements. Why should we then hesitate to postulate a psychic component for alcohol which is again carbon, hydrogen and oxygen combined together? If it is asserted that it is all a question of living and inert matter, I would point out that inert substance taken as food becomes transformed into living protoplasm. Where then is the difficulty in assuming that latent psychic energy in alcohol becomes converted into dynamic energy in being assimilated by the psychae. We have thus to assume psychic energy in foodstuffs, alcohol and other drugs, in fact in all those substances which can affect the mind. It may be said that this is veiled pan-psychism but this is where psychophysical parallelism leads one to. We cannot even stop here. External objects give rise to sensations which are psychological states. Therefore we are bound to assume psychic energy in all objects, Absolute pan-psychism



is the only logical conclusion for a psychophysical parallelist.\*

To sum up the implications of the theory of psychophysical parallelism :—

1. Mind cannot act on matter, nor matter on mind
2. Strict determinism operates in the psychic life
3. Psychic processes may go on in sub-conscious sphere.
4. The law of conservation of energy holds in the mental sphere also
5. There is a latent psychic aspect of all substances which can affect our consciousness

The above propositions become inevitable directly we assume that there is a continuity in psychic life and that there is as much causation in mental as in the physical plane.

---

\* Bernard Hart. The Conception of the Subconscious, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Feby. & March, 1910

## CHAPTER III

### PSYCHOTHERAPY

Abnormal psychology deals with abnormal mental states. It is therefore essential to define what constitutes abnormality. It must be said at the outset that whatever point of view we might take we could never draw a sharp line of demarcation between the normal and the abnormal. In nature we find all sorts of gradations between the normal and the most obviously abnormal. For practical purposes, however, it is essential that we should draw a line somewhere and to a certain extent arbitrarily demarcate the normal from the abnormal.

It is also essential to distinguish between what is abnormal and what is pathological or diseased. An excessive development of a physical or a mental trait might be abnormal but not necessarily pathological or diseased. What then is a disease? Etymologically disease means discomfort, but this criterion will not stand critical examination. In the organic sphere there are certain diseases without any

subjective symptom of discomfort. In the mental sphere we find gross psychical lesions with symptoms of euphoria. On the other hand also we see that all discomfort is not disease. We thus find it extremely difficult to define disease. If we assert that whatever is against the preservation of individual is a diseased condition, we are confronted with the same type of difficulty. The sense of morality and duty often leads us to self-destructive actions, *e.g.*, the feeling of the patriot or martyr. We are on better grounds if we take up the standpoint of the preservation of the race. The race-preservative instincts are manifested as social instincts in the individual psychic life, and limiting ourselves to the department of psychology we might say that any psychical characteristic which is asocial and abnormal is a diseased characteristic. By asocial I mean whatever is not up to the social standard or whatever is anti-social. I think that under the present state of our knowledge the social criterion for disease is the best criterion. The definition of disease must be such as not to offend our existing

ideas unduly and at the same time it must be sufficiently definite.

The definition of a disease being an asocial trait is not without its difficulties. What is considered a social trait at one time or place may be asocial at another age or country. Breaking the social conventions in some cases also would come under the ban of disease. The term disease is thus widened to a very great extent. Again in actual practice it would be sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether a particular trait is asocial or not. Such a trait from some points of view may be considered a diseased trait and from other points to be quite normal. Society is an ever-changing institution and the cultural aims also undergo modification. Therefore in judging of the social value of any particular trait this fact should always be remembered.

Strictly speaking, the abnormality or otherwise as regards a particular trait can only be determined from statistical considerations of the same characteristic in the group to which the individual belongs.

I would define a normal individual as one whose deviation from the average is less than the average deviation of the group for a particular epoch. Any other definition might be given fixing the line of demarcation, which must necessarily be arbitrary, at another point. But I think that the definition given would be best supported from the mathematical point of view. Of course this definition would be of value in so far as the trait concerned was quantitatively measurable. In the psychical sphere absolute quantitative measurements are not always practicable. But a sort of gradation can often be indicated for the purpose of determining the average.

When a good trait is under consideration, the higher abnormal limit is certainly not a diseased condition. Taking this point of view, therefore, we will have no right to call the characteristic trait of a genius as a diseased trait, however abnormal it might be. Of course the genius may be a diseased individual as far as his other traits are concerned. In the case of such traits as anger the above

definition would be of use in fixing the normal limit. Here the abnormal would coincide with the asocial or diseased.

I am well aware of the practical difficulties and the shortcomings of the above definition, but I do not know of any better.

For the cure of abnormal psychic conditions various therapeutic measures have been used. These measures are ordinarily classed under two headings, *viz.*, Physiotherapy and Psychotherapy. Under physiotherapy are included all those measures which aim at bringing about a cure by altering the body by such means as medicines, heat, light, etc. The psychotherapy on the other hand includes those methods which aim at bringing about the necessary mental change by such agents as suggestion, psychoanalysis, etc. But as we are only cognisant of other people's mind through analogy and inference and as we do not know of any psychological measure which would directly act on the mind without being associated with physical agents, the term psychotherapy becomes something

of a misnomer. Suggestion, persuasion, etc., are after all conveyed through physical agencies, such as words and gestures. The distinction between a psychic remedy and a physical agent cannot be easily drawn. The psychic agents are, therefore, varieties of physical stimuli which affect our consciousness through the medium of sense organs. Much of the antagonism that exists between the psychotherapists on the one hand and those who believe in the efficacy of treatment of mental diseases by physical agents such as organic extracts, medicines, electricity, etc., on the other really results from a failure to appreciate this. Any agent which can bring about the necessary alteration in the patient's state is a remedy; and strictly speaking all remedies are physical agents. So it is all a matter of efficiency whether we use a dose of bromide to soothe the state of mental excitation or employ suggestion or any other form of psychotherapy. All medicines which can affect the mind have their psychic counterparts like alcohol.

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## CHAPTER IV

### REPRESSION

Freud's concept of repression is perhaps the most important contribution to psychopathology. Not only has this theory been of use in elucidating the complicated and uncanny phenomena of psychoneurosis and allied disorders, but in the sphere of normal mental life also it has been of immense significance in sociology, anthropology, art and literature, religion, politics and even philosophy. Curiously enough the psychologists of the classical school have failed to take notice of this theory. The want of appreciation on their part seems to have its origin in the general suspicion with which psychoanalysis is looked upon, and in the want of definiteness in the formulation of the theory itself. Nowhere in psychoanalytic literature is there any definite and clear exposition of this theory. Pfister alone in his book *The Psychoanalytic Method* has



given us some detailed account of this conception.\* It is therefore not surprising to find different psychoanalytic workers giving different interpretations of this theory. The term "repression" has often been used in a very loose sense. Many authorities have extended the use of this term to cases where the mental processes are perfectly conscious.† Other workers would insist on the use of this term only when there was an element of unconscious wish which could not be immediately brought to consciousness. Of course no sharp line can be drawn between a partly unconscious and wholly unconscious wish. There are all sorts of gradations in the unconscious sphere. Freud would like to restrict the term to those cases where the wishes can never be called to the conscious mind by ordinary methods.‡ It seems evident however that

\* Pfister. *The Psychoanalytic Method*, Eng. Trans., p. 141

† Frink. *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, p. 45

C. G. Jung. *The Theory of Psychoanalysis*, *The Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. i, p. 8

Bernard Hart. *The Psychology of Insanity*, p. 93.

‡ Freud. *Interpretation of Dreams*

no such limitation of the term is justifiable from the practical standpoint, as we meet with all the different stages from the fully conscious to the unconscious in actual life. If we restrict the term "repressed wish" to a tendency which influences our behaviour, but remains unconscious at the time, then we will have to designate all "attitudes" and "cortical set" of the academic psychologists as "repressed wishes". Similarly, all perceptions leading to action, where the meaning remains unconscious would be placed under this category. Pushing this argument further we might consider all automatic and reflex actions as manifestation of the "repressed wish," but such interpretation would go very far from the original significance attached to the term "repression" by Freud. We must distinguish two types of unconscious mental activities:—where the unconsciousness results from a conflict between two contradictory wishes and where the unconsciousness is not the result of a conflict, but is a natural process, *e.g.*, senile amnesia and certain automatic and habitual actions, etc.

Freud also distinguishes these two types of unconsciousness.\* Strictly speaking the term "repression" should be used only in connection with those processes where *contradictory* impulses have been in operation. The exact relationship between these two types of unconscious process has not been fully investigated. I shall try to give my ideas about it later on. There are instances which could be classified only with extreme difficulty. Here as elsewhere no absolutely sharp distinction can be drawn between these two processes. In fact repression takes the advantage of a more primitive mechanism to render the conflict unconscious.

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\* Freud. *Delusion and Dream*, Eng. Trans., p. 178

## CHAPTER V

### FACTORS OF REPRESSION

The factors of repression have not as yet been fully analysed. Freud, in his *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, in dealing with infantile repression lays stress on the organic repression factors on the basis of which the psychic factors, such as loathing, shame, disgust, etc., develop. Freud, however, has not given us any analysis of these organic factors although he has fully stated their importance in the causation of hysteria and other psychoneurosis.\* I would venture to say that in searching for these organic factors we ought to devote our attention not to the organic bases as such, which would be entirely besides our point, but to the corresponding psychical states, although they might belong to the unconscious domain. We would fix this factor not

\* Freud. *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, p. 38

in terms of the body, but in terms of the mind. We might call these "organic" factors the *inner* factors of repression, in contradistinction to the environmental factors which we might call the *outer*. According to Freud the *inner* factors are derived from the ego-instincts and are appreciated by the individual as shame, loathing, disgust, etc., the *outer* factors are the cultural requirements of the individual and as such they are social in nature. But Freud himself has pointed out that all reactions are but those between the outer and inner factors.\* No outer factor can have any effect unless and until it touches a sympathetic chord in the inner constitution. Therefore the mere relegation of repression factors to social and cultural requirements is only a superficial statement. We must search for those inner chords which respond to this outer vibration. The theory of the herd instinct as a factor in repression is a vague appreciation of the inner basis of social adaptations, but beyond giving

\* Frink, *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, p. 242 and following

the whole thing a name, and a name is more often than not a cloak for hiding ignorance, the theory does not attempt at any analysis. What is the nature of this herd instinct? How does it psychologically manifest itself? These are questions which have only been imperfectly answered. The same idea is expressed when we say that repression is a result of a fight between self-preserved and race-preserved instincts. Such an interpretation is rather biological than psychological and does not help us to arrive at a correct estimate of the true nature of the mental factors involved in repression.

The most detailed account of the factors of repression is to be seen in Pfister's *Psychoanalytic Method*.<sup>\*</sup> Pfister says "repression can only occur when an instinct is inhibited. This can happen by rendering the activity of the instinct impossible or by a second desire opposing the first one." Under the heading of "outer factor" Pfister mentions deprivation and abstinence. As inner factor Pfister

<sup>\*</sup> Pfister. *The Psychoanalytic Method*, Eng. Trans., p. 91 and following

emphasises the importance of the ethical factor which is manifested as conscience\* or public morality. Under non-ethical factors, he shows the importance of other motives such as convenience, the tendency to shirk difficulty, etc. This factor, it would be seen, has been emphasised by Jung as the present conflict of the patient. The importance of the inner factor has not been as yet properly appreciated. It is true that Pfister has remarked that no repression is possible without the presence of these inner strivings, but he has not given us his reasons fully. My idea is that no amount of cultural requirement or deprivation or abstinence would render a craving unconscious unless and until it was opposed by some inner wish of a contradictory nature. We do not forget our cherished wishes simply because of external difficulties. A wish opposed by external factors would remain in our consciousness as an unfulfilled wish waiting for the necessary opportunities to be gratified in action.

\* Cf. Frink. *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, p. 55

Such a wish would never be unconscious. I shall try to elucidate this point fully later on.

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## CHAPTER VI

### INNER FACTORS OF REPRESSION

Different psychoanalytic workers have differently described the inner factors\* as moral sense, conscience, herd instinct, ego instincts:—such as shame, loathing, disgust, etc., but the development of these instincts has never been clearly indicated. These instinctive tendencies have been generally described as contradictory wishes in the psychic plane. The nature of the contradiction remains a mystery as yet. Let us take the instance of the homosexual tendency. According to certain workers shame, loathing, etc., are the factors which bring about its repression. There are others who believe that the higher heterosexual aim is the

\* Trotter. *Sociological Application of the Psychology of Herd Instinct—Sociological Review*, 1909

Trotter. *Herd Instinct and its Bearing on the Psychology of Civilized Man—Sociological Review*, 1908

Bernard Hart. *The Psychology of Insanity*, p. 167

Stoddart—*The New Psychiatry*

Ferenczi. *Contribution to Psychoanalysis*, Eng. Trans., p. 20

opposing factor. In most cases a psychoneurosis is cured when the "offending complex," that is the repressed wish, is unearthed. Hence the necessity for searching the factors which cause the repression remains merely of academic interest. My attention was directed to this problem in a case where in spite of the unearthing of the buried complexes the disease persisted. All resistance had not been overcome. In trying to find out these resistances I hit upon the nature of the original factors which caused the repression.

Theoretically we might conceive of many different types of contradictions. For instance, let us suppose that A wants to beat B. Now any of the following would be contradictory to this :—

- (1) A does not want to beat B
- (2) A wants to love B
- (3) A wants to beat C (Not B)
- (4) A wants to be beaten by B

The above are the possibilities of a contradictory wish, as experienced by the subject A.

Now let us consider them individually from the

psychological standpoint. The first contradictory wish "A does not want to beat B," presupposes a wish to beat B, which is merely negated. It does not give us any idea of the force which causes this negative attitude. In fact the presuppositions (2), (3) and (4) would all come under (1). If we say that the wish of the type "A does not want to beat B", opposes the wish "A wants to beat B", we do not give any analysis at all, thus leaving the problem unsolved. Considering the second contradictory wish that A wants to love B, we may urge that the "wish to love" and the "wish to beat" may be simultaneously present so that there would be no occasion for opposition. If however we say that loving and beating are contradictory actions then we ought to indicate the nature of the contradiction. This has not been as yet done by psychoanalysts. I shall presently indicate the nature of such opposition.

In the case of the third contradictory wish "A wants to beat C" we do not find any necessary contradiction to the original wish. Both may be

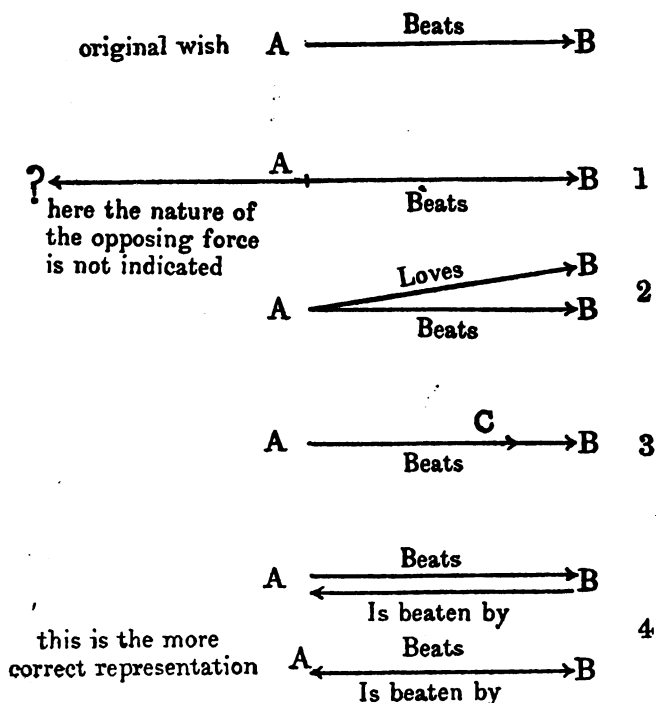
simultaneously present without opposing each other. Therefore such a contradictory wish would not give us any point for repression. A compromise being always possible and even if there were no compromise the beating of C would give satisfaction to some extent at least as regards the act of beating although the object was different.

Taking the last of the contradictory wishes, *viz.*, "A wants to be beaten by B", we find that here the contradiction to the original wish is clearest and covers all the points, the contradiction operating in every phase. We might graphically represent the original wish and the contradictions as in Fig. 5.

Only in the fourth case is the wish completely opposed in all circumstances. My point is that whenever there is repression, the repressing factor is a wish of this nature. Nothing else would make repression possible. In all other cases a compromise formation could be effected. Reverting to our original instance of the repression of the homosexual tendency I would say that the passive homosexual tendency

opposes the active one, causing it to be repressed or *vice versa*. All other factors are merely auxiliary

Fig. 5



ones. The shame, loathing etc. are really built upon the foundation of the contradictory wish and where the opposing factor is apparently the heterosexual

wish it owes its opposition quality to the unconscious contradictory wish of the type I have indicated.

In our illustration the wish of A to love B, where it opposes the wish of A to beat B, really finds its motive power from the wish of A to be beaten by B. The primary wishes in this case are to beat and to be beaten. When our moral or cultural inhibition urges us not to beat B, I would say that it gains its force from the subconscious wish of being beaten by B. In love life careful analysis would show the presence of such opposition to a marked degree. Ordinarily we think that it is quite possible to love A and be loved by A at the same time, but careful analysis would always prove that loving A is of quite a different nature from being loved by A. When the two actions are similar there is always a field for repression.

Psychoanalysis has always found the repressed wishes to be of sexual nature and many explanations of this fact have been forthcoming. It has been urged that under the present condition of civilisation the sexual cravings find the least opportunity

for satisfaction; hence it is that the repressed wishes are mostly sexual. It has also been urged that sexual cravings are the most predominating factors of our life. In fact the term sexuality has been so much extended as to cover almost all our activities.\* Under the present economic conditions in a very large number of persons the craving for certain types of food finds very little opportunity for satisfaction. Still we do not find any repression phenomenon in this case unless it be that a particular food has been symbolised to stand for a sexual factor. No satisfactory explanation has been given for this. According to my views this is very easily explained. In the department of sex we find such contradictory impulses as to love A in a particular way and to be loved by A in the same way e.g. passive and active homosexuality. But in the department of food no such opposition is appreciable; the wish to eat a particular foodstuff

\* Cf. Frink. *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, 1918, p. 4

Pierre Janet. Psychoanalysis. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, June—Sept. 1914, p. 178

would be really opposed by a wish to be eaten up by that foodstuff, which is obviously never present in our consciousness. We thus find that there is no occasion for repression where food is concerned. In the case of our illustration of A beating B the contradictory phenomenon of B beating A is possible and here also repression is evident as I shall show presently when dealing with the development of morality and our ideas of sin, of right and wrong.

The prohibition as regards beef among Hindus does not owe its origin to the contradictory wish of being eaten up by beef as such. Here the beef is a symbol only, the taboo mechanism being in operation.

In the department of sex the contradiction of the type indicated above is evident in peeping mania and exhibitionism, passive and active homosexuality, the male and the female sexuality using the terms in the restricted sense, sadism and masochism etc. These impulses usually go in pairs and are to be found in the same individual. Most of the present day observers are agreed on the point that pure



sadism, masochism, peeping mania, exhibitionism etc. never occur alone; they are always associated with their respective contradictory traits, although the one or the other may be the more prominent.\* It will be noticed that in one group we find the aggressive or the active attitude and in the other the submissive or the passive attitude. If we widen our field of enquiry to include non-sexual spheres it would be possible to classify a large number of instinctive impulses under such opposite headings. For want of a better name let us call the impulses of the active type X impulse and their opposites the Y impulse. I would urge that all our life activities be classified under these two headings. Biologists classify our behaviour under the heading of either race-preservative or self-preservative instinct. We would do better if we dropped the word "instinct" altogether and described our behaviours as reactions. In reactions of the type X the characteristic is a tendency to modify the environment. Whereas in

\* Freud. *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, pp. 22, 29  
Havelock Ellis. *The Sexual Impulse*  
Hirschmann. *Freud's Theories of the Neuroses*, p. 45

reactions of the type Y the tendency is to be modified by the environment. The reactions are seldom so simple as to exhibit these tendencies in their pure forms. Generally in almost every reaction we find both the X and the Y phases. Goethe has said somewhere that to supplant or be supplanted is the very essence of life. Acquisition impulses, sadism, the wish to lord it over others etc. all belong to the X type. Masochism, the wish to serve others, to give oneself up etc. all belong to the Y group.

It is strange that our nature should have been made up of these two contradictory traits, but all the variety of reactions and the complexity of human psychic apparatus are the direct outcome of this contradiction. Much of the difficulties of the outside world is really a projection of this inner conflict.

Taking the point of view of determinism we should say that we do not really create situations but submit to them. When the situation is such as to evoke both the X and the Y feeling of the same order simultaneously there is suspension of action and it is only under this condition that repression

occurs, the stronger impulse finds its outlet into consciousness, the weaker one being pushed into the unconscious sphere.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### FATE OF THE REPRESSED WISH

Let us suppose that a wish  $X_1$  is opposed by a wish  $Y_1$  and let us represent it graphically as follows :—

Fig. 6



If the two wishes  $X_1$  and  $Y_1$  be absolutely of equal strength they would neutralise each other and all action would be suspended. By neutralisation I

do not mean that the wish is destroyed. As far as my observation goes I have never found the actual annihilation of a wish except through satisfaction. The neutralisation takes place in the domain of action only. Supposing the wish X1 to be the stronger one we would show that the wish Y1 would be repressed and would be pushed to the unconscious region of the mind remaining there as a latent factor capable of culminating in action at a suitable moment. What is the fate of this wish? The wish may continue in the repressed state or we might suppose as a possibility that the wish Y1 is shifted along the horizontal plane as it were and gets itself detached from the influence of the X wish so that a fulfilment becomes possible. In order that this detachment may take place we have to suppose the existence of other forces which would bring about this horizontal displacement. This would be a case of dissociation, Fig. 7.

The individual would act in opposite ways and would not notice the contradiction in his behaviour. There is the production of the logic-tight

compartment of the dissociation. The satisfaction is necessarily alternate. As a matter of fact we need

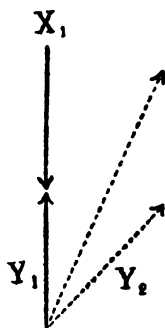
Fig. 7



not assume any horizontal displacement in dissociation as there is never any simultaneous conscious satisfaction of the opposite wishes. In dissociation there is alternate repression of the two opposing factors. We may conceive that the wish  $Y_1$  gradually accumulates energy and is finally able to overcome  $X_1$  which for the time being becomes unconscious. This would correspond to certain outbursts seen in lunatics and in psychoneurotics on rare occasions.

Then again we may conceive that the wish  $Y_1$  takes as its ally another wish  $Y_2$  of a somewhat similar nature. This would result in a compromise between  $Y_1$  and  $Y_2$  so that the opposing wish  $X_1$  is avoided and an outlet found.

Fig. 8

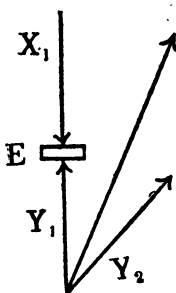


Of course the full significance in consciousness of  $Y_1$  is lost, the final action being a sort of symbolic wish fulfilment. All symbolic actions, compromise formations, transference, conversion etc. belong to this type.

If we assume the presence of an external

obstacle E towards the fulfilment of  $Y_1$  besides  $X_1$  we find that the only possibility of satisfaction for  $Y_1$  would be an alliance with a wish  $Y_2$ . This would be best explained in the diagram :—

Fig. 9



It has hitherto been assumed that for a symbol or a compromise formation the only requirements are the presence of a repressed and the repressing wish, but there is the factor of a second wish of the type of the repressed one but somewhat different from it as has been indicated above.



## CHAPTER VIII

### UNCONSCIOUSNESS OF THE REPRESSED WISH

I am not aware of the exact mechanism by which the repressed wish is rendered unconscious. It seems likely that repression takes advantage of a more primitive mechanism in rendering the wish unconscious. Consciousness has often been held to arise whenever there is some resistance in action. Biologically the individual receives stimulus and reacts in some appropriate way. It has been held that when the reaction is unimpeded there is no consciousness. In reflex, automatic and habitual actions we find this type of unconsciousness. In my opinion if there is absolutely no action possible there is again no consciousness. It is only when action takes place with some resistance that consciousness results. My investigation in other spheres has given me important grounds for believing that a sensation ceases to be conscious if its meaning disappears. We are not conscious of pure sensation, but only of

perceptions, that is sensation with a meaning. It is the meaning aspect which carries the quality of consciousness.\*

In chloroform anesthesia we might suppose as a speculation that the abolition of the possibility of a reaction results in loss of consciousness. According to this view it would be possible to introduce loss of consciousness if all action could be inhibited. In the phenomena of adaptation, we might assume that a loss of consciousness results from the want of a necessity for reaction. In repression according to this view the unconsciousness results from the inhibition of the action.

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\* Cf. Bergson. *Matter and Memory*

## CHAPTER IX

### AFFECT OF THE REPRESSED WISH

It is well-known that when a wish is repressed it is usually associated with unpleasant affects. Freud has pointed out the transformation of the original pleasurable affects into unpleasant ones as a result of repression. I shall try to indicate how this transformation takes place. Let us take the illustration of a man who is under contradictory impulses and let us suppose that the contradictory wishes are to obey and to command. If we take each one of the wishes individually we would have no difficulty in attributing to it a pleasurable quality. There is pleasure, experienced by some individuals at least, in obeying others and there is also pleasure in commanding others, but suppose the two wishes to go up simultaneously; if under this condition the individual is made to obey the command of another person the wish to rule over him would prevent him from enjoying the situation and in the opposite case

the wish to obey him would similarly prevent enjoyment. Thus it would seem that the unpleasantness in such a case arises from the tussle between two opposite pleasurable tendencies. This would lead us into the assumption that in a painful situation there is a latent pleasurable affect. The sadists find pleasure in inflicting cruelty, the masochists find similar pleasure in submitting to cruelty. Ordinary individuals cannot experience pleasure in inflicting or experiencing cruelty. I would point out that sadism and masochism are to be found in every individual in the course of normal development. My point is that a sadist in inflicting cruelty can detach his masochistic tendency; whereas normal individuals cannot; hence the sadist experiences pleasure and a normal individual only finds pain in the situation. That even a normal person can experience pleasure in a cruel act or in submitting to cruelty under certain conditions is well-known. I would say that masochism is not the desire to submit to pain as such but to a situation which is ordinarily painful. In the pathological sphere there are

individuals who experience great pleasure when any wound is inflicted on them. I hold that between the abnormal and the normal there is no sharp line of demarcation, so what is true of the pathological individual is also true to a certain extent of the normal person. We resent deep pressures but enjoy massage. Death is painful to the ordinary man but even this is sought for by a patriot or a martyr who is not necessarily pathological. I would hold that unless the wish to die were there in a latent form it could never come up as a patent wish. Circumstances and environment can only develop a tendency which already exists in the individual. The wish to die becomes prominent in certain situations as disease, misery, old age, etc. Most of us would enjoy tragic drama but would never like to play the hero in actual life: why is this? I think that a normal individual is under the sway of two contradictory wishes, so that he would experience pain instead of pleasure if he submitted to the actual situation; the death wish being under repression is painful to him. In a drama the actual situation is not experienced; the opposing

factor is avoided to some extent and the pleasure results from the imaginary fulfilment of the death wish by the mechanism of identity. The pleasure is directly attributable to this factor and the pain, that is inseparable from the pleasure in witnessing a tragic drama, is only there as a result of the conflict. There is qualitative and absolute opposition between pleasure and pain; yet we find that in the tragic drama the pain is enjoyed. How is this contradiction to be explained? I would say that it is not the pain that is desired but the situation. It is not essential for the pain to be present. In fact the pain serves to diminish the pleasure and there are some individuals who refuse to witness a tragic drama on account of this pain.

I would urge that originally all wishes are pleasurable and it is only when they are in conflict that unpleasantness arises. Academic psychology postulates both pleasantness and unpleasantness as primary. In fact to ordinary introspection unpleasantness appears as a primary attribute, but from the view of the subconscious it would be more profitable to

assume only pleasantness as primary and unpleasantness as the result of a struggle between a conscious pleasurable and an unconscious pleasurable wish.\* This view alone would enable us to explain the sudden transformation of love into hate and *vice versa*. A psychologist of the academic school would describe all hateful situations as permanently unpleasant. But a psychoanalyst knows that many a hateful position becomes pleasurable after analysis. In the department of smell I have tried to show in another chapter how pleasantness or unpleasantness can attach to the same situation under different conditions. I hold that the same is true in the other departments also.

The affect of pleasantness or unpleasantness seldom occurs alone. The affect is always attached to a perception or some action. Even in those cases where the affect seems to be free, analysis will generally point to some unrecognised perception or tendency to action. There are psychologists who

\* Cf. Th. Ribot. *The Psychology of the Emotions*, p. 56 and following

believe that sensations have the quality of pleasantness or unpleasantness as their attributes. I think this view is not tenable. In our ordinary life-experience we have no knowledge of a pure sensation. A sensation is always appreciated by us as perception and has the quality of meaning attached to it. Meaning, as has been well said, is nothing but kinaesthesia; that is, a sensation is always apprehended by the organism as a stimulus for reaction. Biologically the organism receives certain impressions as stimuli and reacts accordingly. The value of stimuli is thus seen only in connection with reactions. This reaction may of course be potential or kinetic. I would assume that the affect attaches itself only to the reaction phase.\*

Perception has its affect value only in so far as it involves the possibility of a reaction. In dealing with the question of consciousness and unconsciousness I have gone so far as to suggest that when reaction is an impossibility the consciousness also

\* Cf. Freud. *Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913, p. 459

Th. Ribot. *The Psychology of the Emotions*, p. 2



vanishes. The perception may be either pleasant or unpleasant; if the perception be such as to bring about a reaction which is unimpeded by any repression the affect is a pleasurable one. The perception if it stands for a repressed reaction carries with it an unpleasant affect. The reaction corresponds on the psychical side to the wish and its fulfilment. Strictly speaking the wish is the affect-carrier. If the above view be correct it would be seen that the same perception would sometimes be pleasant and sometimes unpleasant. Experience supports this contention. In my article on smell I have shown how repression transforms the affect quality of a sensation. That there is a change in the affect quality under repression has always been recognised, but the exact mechanism has not been as yet explained. When the repressed wish has not got much energy the action represented by it seems to be merely unpleasant, the wish itself of course remaining unappreciated. The possibility of fulfilment of such a wish always carries with it the unpleasant affect. But when the repressed wish is very intense and demands satisfaction the unpleasantness

is very much stronger and the wish itself is transformed into fear. According to my view fear is not at all primary. A fear always carries with it a negative attitude, *viz.*, lest a thing should happen. Where the repressed wish finds satisfaction in a symbolic action the affect attached to that action is either pleasant or unpleasant according as the symbol is perfect or not. By a perfect symbol, I mean, a symbol in which its significance is not apparent to the consciousness so that the operation of the repressing force is avoided. Directly the symbol begins to be appreciated in its true significance the struggle returns and the repressing force is again active. The affect immediately changes from a pleasant to an unpleasant one.

The repressing force and the repressed force come to the consciousness respectively as a wish and a fear. As I have indicated above wherever there is a repression there is an inhibition of action. The conscious wish is therefore an impotent wish to a certain extent. In all psychoneurotics that I have analysed, I have always been able to find these two

phases of the struggle. The wish with its pleasant affective tone being impotent goes to form day dreams and fancies and other activities of similar type. The fear with its unpleasant affect appears as an obsession. It has been customary to describe obsessional psychoneurosis as a separate disease entity, but in my opinion any demarcation of the different types of psychoneurosis is more or less arbitrary and is only a matter of convenience. All psychoneuroses, including hysteria, show this important trait of having an impotent wish on the one hand and an obsession on the other; although the one or the other may be the more prominent. Anxiety, fear, obsession &c., all belong to the same category and cannot be differentiated one from the other.

Coming to the domain of normal life how are we to account for the existence of unpleasantness? Is unpleasantness inseparable from certain perceptions and actions? Has it a primary quality? I do not think so. I am of opinion that the field of repression is much wider than is usually supposed. I do not hesitate to say that although unpleasantness is

ordinarily appreciated as a primary quality yet it is in reality a repression phenomenon. What I have described as X impulse is in reality an effort to modify environment. The Y impulse represents the wish to be modified by the environment. To be completely modified by the environment means annihilation and it is opposed by the tendency to modify the surroundings, which in its psychical plane corresponds to the desire to live. Hence all those stimuli and actions which go towards the annihilation of the organism always carry with them the evidence of this struggle in their unpleasantness. It sometimes happens that when the repressing force is removed even death becomes pleasant. If we push this theory to its extreme limit in a person absolutely free from repression, there would be no unpleasantness in this world. How far this is practicable is a question of the greatest significance. It is curious to note that according to the Vedanta philosophy the all-wise man enjoys eternal bliss even in this miserable world; to him there is nothing unpleasant. Vedanta believes that this state is realisable and history in India would

go to support this in case of many individuals. How far this Vedantic doctrine of pleasantness and unpleasantness coincides with my own I am not prepared to say.

The whole question of love and hate and the origin of doubt in connection therewith as seen in psychoneurotics receives a new interpretation according to the view I have propounded above. Hate is not at all a primary feeling. I am of opinion that it always results from a friction between two contradictory types of love. We do not hate a person with whom there is no possibility of a relationship of love. Normally we find in many cases that the wife is the most beloved object and normally also the wife becomes the most detested person under certain conditions. There is a Bengali proverb that one's own brother becomes the greatest enemy when he chooses to be so. Similarly we do not hate any action unless there is a possibility of its opposite being realised. I shall show this in connection with the evolution of our ideas of justice and punishment.

The mystic significance of the numbers 1, 2 and

3 receives an interpretation from the above theory of repression. Those who have been able to keep the repression successfully find only one possibility of action. These are the Monists. Those who are free from repression look forward to the fulfilment of two contradictory types of wishes. These are the Dualists. Psychoneurotics and others, in whom there is struggle between two opposite factors and a final compromise formation, always attach a great significance to the number three.

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## CHAPTER X

### MECHANISM OF REPRESSION

I have said before that the inner factor is the more important in the causation of repression and the outer factor merely acts as an auxiliary agent. From the deterministic standpoint however we cannot distinguish between inner and outer factors. The inner wish is as much a product of environmental state as the outer factor itself. From this point of view we would define the inner factor as that which causes a development of the contradictory wish. In what follows we should keep this point always in mind. In the present chapter I shall take the help of analogy very freely. The reader will of course always bear in mind the difficulties and pitfalls of an exposition on the basis of analogy. I use this method so that the subject matter may be rendered easier to appreciate.

A conscious wish although appearing to be a free product of the mind is in reality a product of the environment. When I therefore say that during

repression two contradictory wishes may be simultaneously present in the patient's mind I am open to the charge of postulating a logical impossibility. If the wishes be taken as dynamic forces and if we are not concerned with their origin there is no difficulty in assuming the simultaneous operation of the two wishes of contradictory nature. But even from the deterministic standpoint there is no difficulty as I shall presently show.

Let us take the analogy of an elastic bag into which water can be pumped as required. This bag may functionate in two opposite ways. It can take in water and it can discharge water. These two aspects would represent the two contradictory wishes. When the bag is not fully stretched the tendency for the water to come out is only latent, but when the bag is fully extended and if more water be pumped into it the outflow tendency would oppose the inflowing current. This would correspond to a repression phenomenon. Of course the analogy is very crude. In the half-filled bag the tendency to outflow remains latent and can only develop under suitable conditions.



In the stretched bag when the water is pumped in the tendency to outflow is not latent, but according to our terminology repressed, that is, held in check. When the inside and outside pressures are the same there is no flow, that is, all action is suspended.

The evolution of a wish in the organism is a phenomenon which corresponds to the physiological development. The individual receives a stimulus and acts accordingly. The action phase is represented by the wish and its fulfilment in the psychic plane. It is a well-known biological principle that a particular organ develops through use so that when a particular reaction happens the organism is placed in a more favourable position for the next reaction of a similar type. The paths are worn out as it were and the driving force also gains in intensity. The strength of a wish is thus developed through successive satisfaction and the motor channel corresponding to the wish is gradually smoothed and widened out to accommodate greater output of energy from the more developed and intensified wish.

According to my conception the development of

any particular wish is always accompanied by a development of a wish of the opposite type which may be either latent or repressed. The greater the quantity of water in our bag and the more we pump the same into it the greater is the tendency to discharge. The greater the development of a wish the greater is the tendency for its opposite to assert itself. Although this opposite wish always remains in the latent or repressed form when the original wish is in consciousness.

In connection with the development of a wish a mechanism similar to that of habit formation takes place. When water is pumped into our bag the elastic wall stretches itself and we can conceive that it becomes more pliable so as to admit of further stretch. A stretching predisposes it to further stretching so that when the next opportunity of taking in water comes the bag accommodates more than the previous quantity. This increase in stretch is, as it were, a craving for further water. In a habitual act, that is, an act which is oft repeated there is not only smoothing out of the channel of

discharge, but also a craving, represented by the increased stretch in our illustration, for a further repetition of the habitual act. This phase is very well illustrated in the drug habits. When a person takes a small dose of opium it exerts toxic action on the system. The toxic effect wears off in time. Some of the drug is excreted and some neutralised by the development of an anti-toxin. Let us call this anti-toxin anti-opium. The amount of anti-opium produced in the body is more than sufficient to neutralise the opium. If the anti-opium be itself non-toxic no harm is done, but if the anti-opium be toxic in character and if repeated administration of opium increases the anti-opium beyond a certain quantity the anti-opium begins to exert a poisonous action. This can only be neutralised by a further intake of opium so that administration of opium leads to the development of a craving for it. Drunkards have noticed that after a heavy drink at night when the effect wears off in the morning a small dose of alcohol is necessary to remove the vague sense of discomfort that follows. I think this is

necessitated by the over-production of a substance of the anti-toxic group. In all habitual actions this phase is noticeable to some extent as a craving for the habitual act. Curiously enough an acute psychologist like James in his splendid discussion on habit entirely failed to take notice of this aspect of the habitual act. The satisfaction of the wish thus leads to a craving for the repetition of such satisfaction in gradually increasing intensities. The anti-toxic factor here is represented by the contradictory wish which also goes on developing in proportion to the original wish. Our physical analogy of the elastic bag would thus serve to explain the mechanism of the habit formation and wish development in the psychic sphere.

Let us take the hypothetical case of an individual being submitted to X situation, a situation which develops the wish of the type X, from the moment of his birth. The X situation would gradually develop the X wish. So that X1, X2, X3 &c. would come up in consciousness in gradually increasing intensities. But simultaneously with the development

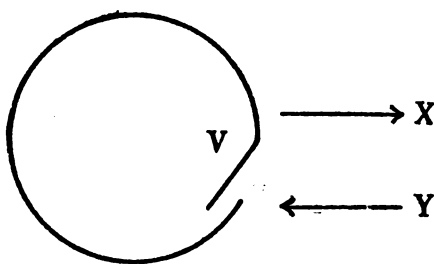
of  $X_1$ ,  $X_2$ ,  $X_3$  &c. there would be development in the latent wish  $Y$ ; but as the situation was unfavourable for the satisfaction of  $Y$  the channel of discharge for  $Y$  would remain undeveloped and a sort of block would be interposed as it were towards the discharge of  $Y$ . So long as  $Y$  is latent it does not oppose  $X$ , but when it has achieved a certain intensity and is capable of expression under a favourable condition, it can no longer be called a latent wish. It is repressed. Although the discharging channel does not develop adequately the wish goes on developing simultaneously with the development of  $X$ . Such an  $Y$  wish, however, never comes up in consciousness. At first it is latent then it becomes repressed. An incongruous state of affairs thus develops; the  $Y$  wish is developed out of proportion to the channel of its discharge. We might compare this to a sort of valved mechanism. Let us suppose that our elastic bag is very small at first and is capable of growth under appropriate stimuli. Now to represent our hypothetical case we go on pumping water in successive instalments. The first moiety stretches

the wall of the bag and increases its capacity to receive more, at the same time it widens the channel in the direction of inflow which for the purpose of this illustration let us assume to be separate from the outflow channel. The second and the succeeding moieties go on developing the bag and the inflow channel simultaneously. With the accumulation of more and more water in the bag the tendency to discharge increases. If now the outlet be open the water although remaining under tension inside is unable to flow out owing to the non-development of the outlet. The outflowing tendency when, sufficiently developed, would oppose the inflow so that finally all action would be suspended, *i.e.*, further pumping would be impossible, there being a limit to the development of the bag. This is how repression occurs. If we now suppose the outlet and the inlet to be represented by the same channel we can illustrate the situation by the mechanism of valvular action allowing flow in one direction only, Fig. 10.

The psychoneurotic may thus be compared to a

valved receptacle containing fluid under tension. He submits of course to an X or an Y situation but never

Fig. 10



Valve V opposes outflow X

enjoys them. When a psychoneurotic with a valve preventing Y discharge submits to an Y situation there is an obsession. When he submits to the X situation the Y opposes the discharge of X and the patient develops an unsatisfied and impotent wish. Both these phases are regularly present although in different degrees in all psychoneuroses.

In searching for the inner factors of repression we must therefore look towards the early environmental conditions of our patient. Continual subjection

to situation of either the X or the Y type in infancy and childhood are momentous factors in the causation of psychic disorders. The most beloved child, the only child, the child of neurotic parents are all subjected to this sort of influence in their early life hence the preponderance of psychoneuroses in such cases.

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## CHAPTER XI

### CENTRAL NUCLEUS OF THE NEUROSIS

I have said in a previous chapter that in case of repression action is inhibited in the psychoneurotic. This statement requires to be modified when we are dealing with actual psychoneurotic symptoms. Strictly speaking it is only that phase of the action which corresponds to the development of the desire for action that is inhibited. Herman has well said in his description of the hysteric that the hysteric says she cannot, the relatives say she will not, but the wise physician says she cannot will. The same action might be the outcome of different wishes so that even when a particular wish is inhibited the action corresponding to it may not be quite impossible, only its significance with reference to the repressed wish is absent. The voluntary phase of the action is inhibited as it were. When a repressed wish overpowers the repressing force and is fulfilled in action the conscious phase becomes

manifest. So that from the psychoneurotic point of view overcoming the repression is coincident with rendering the wish conscious. This tendency of the repressed wish to become conscious is in case of successful repression opposed by the conscious original wish. Whenever the repressed wish tries to break through the barrier the conscious repressing wish gains in strength and serves to keep it in check. This compensation phenomenon\* is seen in a large number of biological reactions. When a foreign matter gets into the system it is encysted by a development of fibrous tissue. If the foreign body be irritating the fibrous tissue is stimulated to further growth. In connection with this it is expedient to point out that a conscious wish has a twofold aspect. The wish in the first instance seeks fulfilment and in the second it keeps the opposite wish in check. The greater the tendency of the repressed wish to come out in consciousness the greater is the development of the original

\* This is also a reaction, X1 leading to the development of Y2

conscious wish. Both these functions are however essentially the same. From this standpoint the repressed wish acts as a stimulus for the greater development of the conscious wish which is its opposite.

Let us now revert to our original illustration of the elastic chamber with the valve. This illustration, it will be remembered, shows the mechanism of repression. Let us suppose that the Y wish is repressed. If we now turn our attention to the strain which the valve undergoes we shall find that this strain is of a different kind according as the situation is X or Y. When the situation is X the repressed Y prevents the X wish from being fulfilled, so that the valve is submitted to a sort of compression between the two opposite forces X and Y. When the situation is Y the conditions are somewhat different. Here it is only the valve which opposes the Y. In such cases especially when we come to deal with the mechanism of symbolism it will be necessary to assume that the valve gets a support from a development of the X wish which is always

available. The development of a conscious wish depends on two factors,—to meet a suitable situation and to oppose a repressed wish.

Let us now turn our attention to the mechanism of symbolism. By a symbolic action I mean an action which serves to give an outlet to a repressed wish.\* The repressed wish under certain situations allies itself with a similar wish and finds outlet in a compromise formation. So long as what I have called the voluntary phase, that is the true significance of the action to the individual, is not in consciousness the symbolic act is pleasurable and affords relief to a certain extent. But if the situation be such as to raise the possibility of this phase becoming conscious the action is rendered painful. To turn to our analogy it would appear that at the moment the repressed wish tries to break through the outlet of the compromise there is too much strain on the channel of discharge. The protective mechanism is at once called into operation and the

\* Cf. Ferenczi. *Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, p. 234

threatened point in the outlet receives support from the repressing wish which calls to its aid other wishes of a similar type exactly as the repressed wish had done. The necessary strength is thus evolved to meet the situation. We should here point out that when a wish has been satisfied it is not destroyed altogether but is rendered latent and it is easy for it to develop again as a renewed wish. The latency of a wish remains permanent with the organism. This point would be rendered clearer by an example. Let us suppose that our hypothetical organism has been submitted from birth to situations of the X type only, i.e., X1, X2, X3, X4, &c. Under these conditions Y1, Y2, Y3, Y4, remain latent. Let us now suppose that by repetition of X1 the latent Y1 gains in strength so that ultimately it becomes repressed wish. I have always assumed three stages of development in a wish of this type. At first it is latent and is unable to influence action; then with further development it becomes repressed and tries to find outlet in a symbolic representation and thirdly it may become conscious by

overpowering the opposite wish and rendering it unconscious. In normal action where there is no pain what becomes of the contradictory wish is an interesting problem and will be discussed later when I come to deal with the theory of the subject. The repressed  $Y_1$  tries to find an outlet in action, that is it seeks fulfilment. It now allies itself with the wish  $Y_2$  and a compromise  $Y_{1/2}$  results which is able to elude  $X_1$ , but directly it attempts fulfilment by becoming conscious  $X_1$  in its turn calls out  $X_2$  and forms a compromise  $X_{1/2}$  which opposes the  $Y_{1/2}$ . I am of opinion that symbolic action of the type  $Y_{1/2}$  is only possible when there has been a previous satisfaction of a wish of the type  $Y$ . Even in such a case directly the voluntary phase corresponding to  $Y_1$  becomes evident, the same mechanism comes into operation and renders the symbolic action painful. In this way does the repression spread from  $Y_1$  to  $Y_2$ ,  $Y_3$  and so on,\* each individual  $Y$  standing as a symbol for the

\* Freud. *Totem and Taboo*, p. 51

others. So one repressed wish acts as an infective centre and the field of inhibition spreads from one act to another, a phenomenon very common in psychoneurosis. In a symbolic action therefore one or more repressed systems try to join hands and attempt satisfaction through an unrepressed channel of a similar type. When the primary barrier of the repressing force is broken secondary defences are called up to cope with the situation. The obsessions and fears belong to this type. Freud has described the secondary defence system in a very lucid manner. As the mother's influence is the earliest to be felt in a child's life it is no wonder that the central nucleus of the neurosis should be with reference to the mother.

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## CHAPTER XII

### REPRESSION AND IMAGINATION

When there is no bar to the fulfilment of a wish there is no occasion for the wish to come up in consciousness. Unimpeded actions are unconscious actions. In dealing with repression we have already pointed out that when the action is absolutely inhibited there is no consciousness either. It is only when there is a sort of partial obstacle in the path of an action that consciousness arises. When an action is checked some sort of modification becomes necessary to get over the obstacle and this phase represents the conscious thinking in the individual. In my opinion reasoning has its origin in such an impediment. I would not distinguish between intelligent and instinctive actions. It is only when an action is obstructed and some sort of modification becomes necessary that consciousness and reason come up. The biological action phase is represented in the individual by the development of the wish and



its fulfilment. Therefore it is only when a wish is inhibited that thinking develops. The wish is therefore the prime instigator of thought. Freud has also taken this standpoint.\* There cannot be conscious thinking unless some sort of wish remains unsatisfied. All actions are concerned with the modification of the environment. The environment is appreciated psychologically as the object and the modification of the existing state of the object is the psychological aim of the wish. When the wish is checked its energy is not destroyed, but is utilised in rousing up the perception that would have resulted from a fulfilment of the wish. The object is represented by its image and the action gives rise to the play of imagination. The nearest substitute for action is the rousing up of kinaesthetic imagery. Kinaesthesia is the most primitive type of imagery. It would be evident however that the mere arousal of kinaesthetic imagery would not help us in modifying our action to bring about the necessary change in the object.

\* Freud. *Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913, p. 447

So if the obstruction persists the kinaesthetic imagery has to give way to other images, such as visual and auditory, which would be more useful in getting a proper grasp of the situation and in starting new modifications which would be effective in evading or overcoming the obstacle. A proper appreciation of the nature and position of the object and the obstacle which prevents the wish from attaining fulfilment can only be achieved by the development of visual image. Kinaesthetic image being the nearest kin to action is inhibited in repression along with its corresponding action. In my analysis of psychoneurotic cases I have always found that these patients are predominantly of the visual type. The image type of a psychoneurotic changes along with the cure. I think that the visual imagery is developed as a result of the inhibition which is also operative in the kinaesthetic sphere. The greater the vividness of the kinaesthetic imagery the greater is the possibility of the repressed wish becoming conscious. Where there is repression even when the imagery is visual it does not correctly represent the situation. The imagery concerns itself

with the development of situations which are compromise formations, that is, the image can only occur with reference to symbolisms. The predominance of visual imagery in dreams may be traced to the operation of this factor. In my own case I have noticed a very peculiar state of affairs in connection with sleep and waking stage. In the waking stage I have very deficient visual capacity. But directly I begin to fall asleep vivid visualisation at once becomes possible. So that during the preliminary stage of sleep when the waking and the sleeping stages show a sort of oscillatory movement the power of visualisation comes and goes according as I am asleep or awake.

It would be interesting to investigate whether artists and poets show greater visualising capacity and less kinaesthetic imagery than normal persons. That this is a fact in most psychoneurotics has been clear to me for some time past.

Biologically a stimulus starts a reaction. Psychologically a perception leads to the development of a wish and its fulfilment. We ordinarily speak of the

perception as the cause for the origin of the wish or for the matter of that of the action. When the wish is repressed and finds vent in a symbolic representation the perception that starts it remains unappreciated in consciousness. But the tendency to find a cause for our action, that is always operative in us and the true nature of which I shall discuss later on, prompts us to formulate a hypothetical cause. Under such conditions illusions and hallucinations arise. Let us suppose that a perception P normally leads to an action A and let us suppose that the corresponding wish is represented by W. When the repressed wish W1 in trying to form a symbol allies itself with the wish W the action A is initiated with some modification, but the corresponding perception here remains absent. Under these conditions the tendency in us to find a cause makes us believe that the perception P had been present. Thus a hallucination of P is created. Again another perception P1 might serve to give vent to the wish W1. Under such conditions the true nature of P1 remaining unconscious, we look upon the P1 as P, so that an

illusion arises. According to this view there cannot be any illusion or hallucination without the presence of an unconscious wish. When the unconscious wish is of the repressed type, the possibility for hallucination or an illusion is much greater. Every symbolism carries with it a latent possibility for a false perception. The so-called physiological and psychological illusions discussed in ordinary text books of psychology as also the illusions of the magician, all owe their origin to the operation of an unconscious wish of the type I have defined in the beginning of this article and to the tendency to find a cause for the wish. All rationalisations belong also to this category.

Imagination can take the place of an inhibited action and can afford relief to a certain extent by trying to rouse up imageries which may be looked upon as akin to sensations. According to a certain school of psychology images and sensations are made from the same primordial stuff. When the imagination can reproduce or can arouse kinaesthetic imageries the relief of the tension is more complete

than when there is no kinaesthesia. In this connection the phenomena associated with rhythm receive a new interpretation. Rhythmic action is inhibited action. Whenever a motion is stopped and is only allowed to play within a limited sphere the activity tends to assume a rhythmic form. When we throw a stone, and it is unimpeded, it takes its usual course, but if the stone be attached to a piece of string it at once begins to oscillate in pendulum fashion. In the organic sphere also we find that inhibited action takes up a rhythmic mode of discharge, because it is only by this means that the stored up energy can be dissipated. The caged tiger walks to and fro within a cage and the man who has been thwarted in an action soothes himself by walking up and down within a limited space. Whenever we want to discharge stored up energy within a limited compass we take advantage of rhythmic activity. Rhythm in poetry belongs to this type. Poetry is capable of rousing up and discharging the most intense affect as it starts in the reader or in the listener a rhythmic activity. Rhythm has the curious property of starting

other rhythms when there is attunement. Physical attunement has its counterpart in the psychic sphere also. When we compare the dramas of old with the current society plays we are struck by a remarkable peculiarity, *viz.*, that in the old dramas the actors used rhythmic language, whereas the present-day society play is purely conversational in type. The present-day society drama is staged under realistic settings, whereas in the dramas of old, either owing to peculiar situations or inefficient scenery and stage management, a lot of things was left to the imagination of the audience. Under such circumstances the rhythmic language would serve to reproduce the energy of the real situation by rousing up kinaesthesia in the audience. In old type Bengali plays it was the custom to introduce a song whenever a person died, and all the lamentations were done in singing. At first sight this seems a ludicrous state of affairs, but considering the crude state of stage management in those days it would appear that the song was really necessary to provide the necessary kinaesthesia of the mournful situation. For the same

reason the combatants on the stage used rhythmic and sonorous language in abusing each other before a fight. As the stage setting and the acting become more and more realistic the aid of such kinaesthesia may be dispensed with.

Poetry serves to let out our repressed wish and takes advantage of kinaesthesia by providing the necessary rhythm.\* There are other signs of repression discernible in poetry as well. The reversal of syntax is a suggestion that the smooth flow of thought or action is not possible. A sentence in which the words have been transposed is likely to affect a repressed complex more than an ordinary sentence. Whenever there is an opportunity for any inhibited material to come out it is found that other materials of a similar type avail themselves of the situation and aim at discharge. An old pent up grief is liable to outburst whenever any sorrowful situation is experienced. Similarly the inversion of a sentence by its suggestion of inhibition energises the repressed

\* Cf. F. C. Prescott. Poetry and Dreams, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, April and May, 1912



complex. Poetry differs from commonplace expressions by its virtue of providing some relief to repressed cravings. Hence poetry chooses for its expression language which shows inversion of the natural order. The repetition of a particular word or words or a certain sentence in poetry also suggests that the action is not unimpeded. Let us make the above clear by an example. A simple sentence such as "the little key is now lost" has not got any poetic merit, but directly we transpose it as "lost is now the little key", it becomes poetic. The word "key" which conveys ordinary meaning in the first sentence has in the second case become symbolic merely as a result of this inversion. The change in emphasis of the different words owing to the transposition is only of secondary importance. Inversion, repetition and rhythm increase the symbolic value of an expression. The vagueness of poetry is another factor which provides for the diversity of expression of a symbol in different individuals. We use metaphors and analogies whenever a situation is not clear. Symbolic action is never clear in its significance. The use of

such mechanisms in poetry therefore helps us in the suggestion of inhibition and has an effect similar to that of inversion and repetition. Appreciation of poetry depends to a great extent on the capacity of the words to call up mental imagery. Those to whom the words are merely verbal or auditory-kinaesthetic symbols, do not much enjoy the beauties of poetical expressions unless with effort. The image type as I have mentioned above depends in a large measure on the degree of repression. Images are really substitutes for action, objects having an action attitude, hence no image can really arise unless there is some impediment to the fulfilment of the intended action. Conversely a repressed material brings up the most vivid imagery. The effect of obscene words on normal individuals is explainable on this basis.\* In the vulgar, accustomed to obscene language, the obscene words are merely verbal kinaesthetic symbols and do not produce the same effect.

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\* Cf. Ferenczi. *Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, p. 120

## CHAPTER XIII

### IDENTITY AND PROJECTION

When the repressed wish is powerful and there are obstacles in the way of symbolic action imagination replaces action. The imagination concerns itself with both the repressing and the repressed wish. The first effort is towards the rousal of kinaesthetic imagery supported it may be by visual images. The impotent repressing wish seeks *direct* imaginary fulfilment while the repressed wish which is not in consciousness gains satisfaction through *indirect* performances of the symbolic type. There is no possibility of imaginary satisfaction in a direct way for the repressed wish except when there is dissociation, *i.e.*, when the significance of the contemplated action is not present in consciousness. If the reality or the external obstacle be very insisting even the repressing wish fails to find a direct expression and often seeks an indirect symbolic outlet by the mechanism of identity. I shall treat of identity in a fuller way in connection

with the theory of the subject. The term identity has been used by psychoanalysts in a very loose way and with different significances.\* I shall here try to restrict the use of the term. Let us take the illustration of repression mentioned before :—

1. A wants to beat B — Repressing wish

2. A wants to be beaten by B—Repressed wish

Here the wish 1 is impotent because of the factor 2 and the wish 2 cannot come up in consciousness in an unchanged form because of 1.

The wish 1, A wants to beat B, in seeking indirect expression may take any of the following forms :—

1. A pushes B
2. A pushes B1
3. A beats B1
4. A1 beats B
5. A1 pushes B
6. A1 beats B1
7. A1 pushes B1

\* Frink. *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, p. 167  
Bernard Hart. *The Psychology of Insanity*

All the above forms have been usually included under the term identity. I should like to restrict the term to denote the substitution of A by A1. When A conceives of A1 beating or pushing B or B1 he gets a sort of vicarious pleasure. In reading novels we identify ourselves with the hero or the heroine in this way and experience pleasure by so doing. The obstacles and reality are circumvented by this mechanism and the source of the pleasure remains to a certain extent unconscious.

The wish 2, A wants to be beaten by B, cannot as I have said come up in consciousness unmodified except where there is dissociation. Dissociation can only occur when the channel of discharge for the repressed wish is sufficiently well developed due to previous satisfaction, the block being in operation only with reference to the significance of the act.

This repressed wish can, however, come up in consciousness in a modified form by calling up as its ally a somewhat similar but unrepressed wish. The expressions of the repressed wish are usually

unpleasant as the struggle with the repressing wish can seldom be fully obliterated.

In connection with the repressed wish 2 all the variations of the type mentioned under 1 may be present only with the modification that the wish phase is transferred from the subject to the object so that to the subject A they appear in consciousness as follows :—

1. B wants to beat A
2. B1 wants to beat A
3. B wants to push A
4. B1 wants to push A
5. B wants to beat A1
6. B1 wants to beat A1
7. B wants to push A1
8. B1 wants to push A1

It will be at once seen that these manifestations usually go by the name of projection. In the case of identity A transfers his wish to A1 and in the case of projection he transfers it to B who is the object with reference to the conscious wish. Some authors would include under projection expressions of the type “they say A wants to beat B” but

strictly speaking the wish is not projected in this case but only the acknowledgment.\* It is a sort of defence reaction. The mechanism of projection is identical with the mechanism of identity. Identity is concerned with the repressing wish which is conscious, and projection with the repressed wish which is unconscious. In projection the subject places himself in the position of the object. The true significance of projection will be discussed in connection with the theory of the subject.

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\* Bernard Hart. *The Psychology of Insanity*, p. 124

## CHAPTER XIV

### MODES OF EXPRESSION OF A REPRESSED WISH

A repressed wish can never be destroyed. It seeks fulfilment in various distorted types of activities which I have described as symbolic. In all such actions the functioning of the repressed factor remains more or less unappreciated. It may sometimes happen that the repressed wish grows abnormally in strength and then the tables are turned. The repressed wish comes up in consciousness and the repressing factors become unconscious. Under these conditions there is complete dissociation of the wish which has gained conscious control. By this means is its conflict with the personality avoided. Under opposite conditions when the repressing factors are very strong and would not allow even symbolic actions for the repressed wish the only possible outlet for the latter is imaginary activity. I have discussed the relation of imagination to repression in a previous chapter. Here I



shall only deal with symbolic manifestations. I have already pointed out that besides the repressing and the repressed wishes the presence of another wish of the repressed type is essential for the formation of the symbol. The symbol is the compromise arrived at as a result of operation of all these factors. The symbolic action therefore must have some sort of resemblance with the repressed action. The symbolic action remains pleasurable so long as the true significance remains unconscious. Directly this becomes apparent the symbol ceases to be successful and there is pain in connection with the symbolism.

The exact type of symbol which a particular repressed wish evolves for its satisfaction cannot always be predicted at the present state of our knowledge and much useful work remains to be done on this subject. We are sometimes struck with the wonderful resemblance between a religious rite and a psychoneurotic symbol and we are tempted to say that religious rites owe their origin to repression factors. This would also explain the

curative effects of religion in certain psychoneuroses. It is expressly stated in the Hindu *shastras* that religious rites and ceremonies are not to be explained by reason but they are matters of revelation to certain individuals who have been called *Rishis*. These *Rishis* felt a sort of intuitive necessity for Vedic sacrifices and religious rites and it is only on such authority that the sanction of religion depends. There is, it is asserted, no intellectual participation in the formulation of these rites. A religious act is not necessarily a good act in the ethical sense. We may assume that in the formulation of the religious rites the *Rishis* gave vent to the repressed cravings in symbolic form.

I shall not go into the intricacies of symbol formation in this chapter but shall point out a few of the ordinary activities of life which act as general symbols for a very large number of repressed wishes. The importance of rhythmic activity for the discharge of repressed energy I have already discussed in a previous chapter. Music, dancing, singing, etc., thus act as general symbols for a very

large number of repressed wishes. Next in importance to these is perhaps riding or walking. There is a certain type of psychoneurotics who are very fond of long walks. In this connection it is interesting to observe that most of the individuals who take part in walking competitions are bachelors. Those who are forced to lead continent lives usually take to violent exercise.

The beneficial effects of exercise are always explained on physiological grounds and this psychological factor is usually lost sight of. Whenever an activity serves for the discharge of repressed affects it is liable to be taken up as a hobby and we need not be surprised at such a large number of faddists of physical culture.

Another group of actions which may serve as general symbols are the nutritional activities. Many observers have called attention to the sexual significance of breast and thumb-sucking in infants and young children. Many psychoneurotics show special likes and dislikes for certain class of food-stuffs which can only be explained on psychological

grounds. Among the conversion phenomena of hysteria disturbances of nutritional activities are the commonest. Taking food from an individual or feeding him are acts which are looked up by psychoneurotics and even by normal persons as having something more than an ordinary nutritional significance. The Indian cock has one kind of call which he utilises both for feeding the hen and for mating. There are hysterics who get special pleasure in feeding others and there are individuals suffering from obsessional psychoneurosis who get a prompt relief of their symptoms after a hearty meal of savoury food such as meat. Apart from repressed wishes even ordinary sexual desire can be satisfied to some extent by the partaking of food. I cannot refrain from quoting from Dickens the following lines :—

“This way” said the fat boy eagerly “there’s such a jolly meat-pie !” (to Mary pretty girl)

“Sit down” said the fat boy “Oh my eye, how prime ! I am so hungry !”

The fat boy assisted Mary to a little and himself to a great deal.....said very slowly :—

“I say how nice you look !”

.....there was enough of the cannibal in the young gentleman's eyes to render the compliment a double one. “Dear me, Joseph,” said Mary affecting to blush “what do you mean?”

... ..

The fat boy with elephantine playfulness, stretched out his arms to ravish a kiss: but as it required no great agility to elude him, his fair enslaver had vanished before he closed them again, upon which the apathetic youth ate a pound or so of steak, with a sentimental countenance, and fell fast asleep.’’\*

There is a certain class of prostitute-goers in India who get complete satisfaction by listening to music and partaking of food in the company of the woman. There is no effort at sexual intercourse. The intimate relation existing between the sexual

\* *Pickwick Papers*, chapter LIV, p. 419, T. Nelson & Sons

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and the nutritional cravings deserves more attention  
than has hitherto received.

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## CHAPTER XV

### THE CURE OF THE PSYCHONEUROSIS

The study of the mechanisms of cure of psychoneurosis is of great importance from the therapeutic standpoint but it has not attracted the attention it deserves.\* A very small percentage of those suffering from psychoneurosis come to the psychoanalyst. The majority go untreated, especially the milder cases. Some are attended to by the general practitioner and treated on medicinal lines. Some are taken up by the quacks. Some take to hobbies and others find solace in religion. A fair number of cases recover spontaneously apparently without any assignable cause. I have seen washing mania being cured by religious precepts and taking to pets. I have seen hysterical insanity being permanently cured by incantations. Obsessional psychoneurosis is sometimes relieved by a change of scenery. I have had a

\* Cf. Frink. *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, p. 501

patient suffering from compulsion neurosis who feels immediate relief directly he notes down his dreams. No analysis is required. A mere change of physician would sometimes bring about a cure in some cases. Suggestion alone as an explanation is not sufficient to account for such diversified types of cures.

Psychoneurosis is the result of a conflict between the repressing and the repressed wishes and if we could devise measures for the satisfaction of these conflicting forces we could achieve a cure. We have seen before that the repressed wish seeks fulfilment in symbolic and imaginary actions and that so long as the significance of the symbol remains unconscious there is pleasure from the symptomatic act and consequent relief of tension. This symbolisation is the result of spontaneous activity of the patient. If we could determine the exact type of symbol we would have found a very important remedy for alleviating the patient's symptoms. Of course such a cure would be merely symptomatic and is not likely to be permanent. But all the same it has its field of application. I have tried this line in many cases and



have sometimes obtained very gratifying results. What we call sublimation is really a social form of symbolism. Such a type of symbolisation follows the normal evolutionary tracks and is of more or less permanent utility.

Then again it is sometimes possible to utilise the hysterical mechanism of conversion to bring relief to painful mental symptoms. I have already mentioned before that repressed energy can be liberated by rhythmic action. This utilisation of bodily activities for the relief of mental tension depends on the conversion mechanism which is after all a special form of symbolism. I have tried swinging continued for a prolonged period to relieve the symptoms of anxiety-neurosis in suitable cases with very excellent results. Dancing, music, etc., have got well-known curative effects which I would ascribe to this factor of rhythm. Different symptoms require different types of rhythm and the problem awaits further investigation.

I have compared the psychoneurotic with a valved receptacle and his cure depends on the

removal of the valve. How this is effected by psychoanalysis I shall discuss presently. Very often has it been assumed that the mere unearthing of a complex is sufficient to bring about a cure; but this is not so and Freud has rightly pointed out the immense importance of the resistance factors. Unless the nature of the resistance factors is appreciated and their removal ensured no cure is possible even with the fullest knowledge of the underlying repressed wish. The importance of transference in the removal of resistance has been pointed out by almost all psychoanalysts but I do not think that the full significance of transference has been properly appreciated. The physician is looked upon as a catalytic agent\* but I think his role would be better appreciated if we compared him to the 'complement' in serum reactions. The repressed wish of the psychoneurotic cannot take advantage of the corresponding situation owing to the presence of the valve. We may compare the *situation* to the *antigen* and the *repressed wish*

\* Ferenczi. *Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, p. 34

with its associated manifestations may be looked upon as the *antibody*. The fulfilment of the wish would represent the combination of the antigen with the antibody. The antigen and the antibody may not combine without the complement. The failure of the repressed wish to obtain satisfaction in action is represented by the absence of the complement. I have pointed out before that the want of previous satisfaction of the wish leads to the development of the valvular obstruction. Therefore according to this view the complement is the persisting effect of previous satisfaction. This corresponds to channelisation in our simile of the receptacle. It is the existing combination of the antigen and the antibody brought about in some previous reaction. In the chemical sphere also we find that perfectly pure hydrogen and oxygen will not combine to form water unless there was a minute trace of water present. This minute trace of water functionates as the complement and it is the result of previous combination of hydrogen and oxygen. Theoretically it is possible to assume that under exceptional conditions hydrogen

and oxygen may combine without the presence of any complement. It would be profitable to investigate whether the complement in serum reactions is a compound product of the antigen and the antibody. The analogy of serum reactions to mental life would tempt us to compare the sudden outburst of certain types of mania, etc. with an anaphylactic shock; but more work is needed in this direction.

The physician with his firm and sympathetic attitude provides facilities for both the X and Y types of reactions and stands to the patient as a symbol for the father, conjuring up old infantile reminiscences and modes of reactions. Those psychoneurotics who find relief in pets also exhibit the same mechanism. Both give and take are possible in the case of the physician who sympathises and the pet to whom sympathy is shown. In transference we therefore find the satisfaction of both X and Y wishes, so that there is provided an outlet, however small, for the repressed wish. These wishes may not be of any very great intensity but all the same they provide a channel of discharge for wishes having greater

intensity and greater affects. Just as the central nucleus of the neurosis forms an infective focus for the disease so a transference provides for a starting point of cure.

We find a very striking analogy between vaccine therapy and psychoanalytic treatment. An injection of a therapeutic dose of vaccine is followed by a negative phase after a period of latency. The positive or the curative phase begins after the negative phase is over and enables the physician to put in a bigger dose of vaccine. It is not generally wise to inject any vaccine during the negative phase. When an unconscious wish has been unearthed and its nature explained to the patient there follows a painful reaction either immediately or after a period of latency. This negative phase persists for some time and its duration depends on the nature of the offending material unearthed. This period is characterised by an aggravation of painful symptoms associated it may be with the phenomena usually described under the term negative transference. The intensity and duration of the negative phase may vary

from a momentary change of expression to an extremely painful outburst lasting for some days; its presence however can always be detected by the careful observer. During this phase the patient needs most careful handling and it is best to avoid all further analysis so long as this phase lasts. I have found patients being permanently alienated from his physician by the latter's over-zealousness for analysis at such critical period. It is always desirable that the analysis be conducted in such a way as to avoid all excessive reactions. The latency period before the negative phase has its counterpart in normal life also. If we are in the wrong and if we do not agree with another person who is in the right we are inclined at first not to pay any attention to our opponent's arguments but after some time has elapsed we begin with a painful reluctance to feel the weakness of our position and it is only when a number of readjustments have been effected in our view point that we can acknowledge the truth. It rarely happens that the whole of the negative phase is completed below the level of consciousness, *e.g.*, in the case of the

patient whose symptoms disappeared by the mere recital of dreams. In such a case the patient may not accept the validity of analysis but the cure is effected all the same. Such a cure is not a perfect cure as it follows the lines of a successful symbolism only.

I shall now pass on to a very important phenomenon which can be noticed regularly in all psychoanalytic cures. I have previously called attention to the fact that in all psychoneurosis the symptoms may be traced to two opposite sources, *viz.*, the repressing and the repressed factors. These are wishes of opposite nature. Suppose a patient is suffering from a repressed masochistic wish. In such a case his symptoms may be traced partly to his *impotent* sadism and partly to his *unappreciated* masochism. Before any analysis is undertaken the symptoms of the sadistic group will be more in evidence whereas the true nature of the masochistic symptoms will not be appreciated. If by analysis we can bring out the masochistic element into the patient's consciousness a very curious thing is seen to occur. There is no immediate cure but on

the other hand the hitherto conscious sadistic element gets under repression and the masochistic symptoms become prominent in consciousness. This stage does not last long. Either under further analysis or spontaneously the masochism again gets under consciousness and the sadism again appears. It seems as if the channel for identification of the latent wish with the object (see theory) requires some time to develop. This see-saw mechanism goes on for some time till equilibrium is established resulting in cure. This mechanism is to be seen in everyday life also. In religion the newly made convert is the fiercest critic of his former views and his critical ardour subsides only after a time. This alternation of symptoms of the opposite groups is also evident in certain types of psychosis and psychoneurosis normally.

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## CHAPTER XVI

### THEORY OF THE OPPOSITE WISH

From the standpoint of determinism, the development of any particular wish is the result of environmental conditions. If we turn our attention from the psychological aspect of the wish to its physiological counterpart we may easily conceive how environmental conditions acting as stimuli may bring about changes in the organism which on its psychological side leads to the development of the wish. It is therefore all a question of stimulus and reaction. It is necessary that we should look carefully into the true nature of stimulus. In science we can never draw any hard and fast line between the living and the non-living and the researches of Sir Jagadish Bose have amply proved that inorganic things respond to stimuli as much as organic and living things. A biological stimulus with its resultant reaction is represented in the physical level by the principle of the Newtonian action and

reaction. In fact I would say that there is absolutely no difference between the two. The biological reaction is only a complex type of physical reaction. Therefore whatever holds true of the physical reaction must be also true of the biological reactions.

Let us conceive of a ball at a particular temperature immersed in a bath and let us suppose this to be an enclosed system (entropic) and absolutely independent of outside influence. Let us turn our attention to the temperature of the ball only. If the initial temperature of the ball and the bath be the same the ball will neither gain nor lose in temperature for an indefinite period. We might conceive that the ball is giving out as much heat as it is receiving at the same time. Now since the ball has other characteristics besides that of giving out or receiving heat we might postulate a hypothetical heat receiving and a hypothetical heat radiating mechanism in the ball. From the physical standpoint the heat receiving mechanism is nothing but the capacity of increased movement of the molecules of the ball and the heat radiating mechanism is

represented by the possibility of diminished movement of the same particles. It is obvious that both the mechanisms cannot be effective at one and the same instant, *i.e.*, the ball cannot at the same time rise and fall in temperature. But there is nothing to prevent us from assuming the two mechanisms to be in action at the same time the final result being determined by the preponderance of one action over the other.

Now let us consider that the bath is at a higher temperature than the ball. The ball will gradually rise higher in temperature and the temperature of the bath would fall. This would go on till the ball and the bath were at the same temperature again. In this case we take it that the receiving mechanism of the ball is effective and the activity of the radiating mechanism remains as it were latent in the shape of power to radiate later under altered conditions. We might also conceive this mechanism to be in a sort of tension ready to radiate when the conditions change.

In our illustration of the ball and the bath any

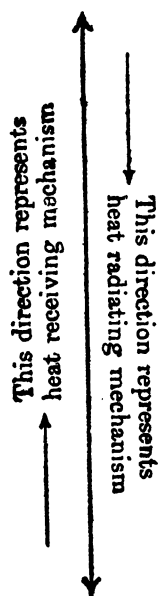
difference in temperature will act as a *stimulus* to start either the receiving or the radiating machinery in operation. We might conceive that in all cases both the machineries are active but only one becomes manifest under a particular set of circumstances.

The latent action may be considered to be of equal intensity to the patent one if we conceive the capacities to receive or radiate later as manifestations of the latent factor. Supposing the receiving factor to be patent it will be seen that when the ball is receiving heat it stores up energy which is an asset to the radiating mechanism. Then if the potential factor be taken into account the two mechanisms will be found to be acting at the same time and having the same intensity. In fact they are the positive and the negative phases of the same factor or, in other words, they are of opposite sign, Fig. II.

The mechanism that remains latent is in a sort of tension. This tension may be ascribed to the inability for action of the particular mechanism resulting from the patent overactivity of the opposite factor. Thus the receiving factor in one

Fig. 11

Increased Frequency  
of Vibration



Diminished Frequency  
of Vibration

set of reactions, e.g., receiving heat, prevents the manifestation of the radiating factor and conversely. What is true of heat is also true of other forms of energy and biological reactions are but aggregates of physical reactions.

Here if we consider rise or fall in temperature as a reaction the *difference* in temperature will represent the stimulus. It is therefore evident that the stimulus energy must be of the same type or identical with the reaction energy. In fact we cannot conceive of energy of one type producing a change of an entirely different type. The conversion of energy can only be explained on the basis of a fundamental unity of the different types of energy.

A hot body insulated by a non-conducting material will give out heat when this material is removed. The removal of the insulating material is not the real stimulus for radiation. The environmental difference in temperature is the real factor. The insulating power of the material may be supposed to reside in the power of its molecules to act in a contradictory way to the radiating force

identical with the radiating energy, but having the opposite sign.

In connection with this view the following Newtonian and other assumptions become inevitable not only because they can be physically demonstrated but because we cannot conceive them to be otherwise :—

1. Energy is indestructible
2. Actions and reactions are equal and opposite
3. An energy continues to manifest itself in the same way unless it is impressed on by another energy
4. An energy is not affected by another energy unless the two have elements of identity
5. The energy that can neutralise another energy is of the same nature but has the opposite sign
6. The transformation of energy is only possible on the ground of fundamental unity between the different types

From the biological standpoint the stimulus is represented by the object and the reaction takes place in the subject. This reaction, whether latent or patent, is exactly equal to the stimulus and is of the opposite sign. When the stimulus produces results out of proportion to its own intensity it might be compared to the removal of the insulating cover of a hot body in the illustration mentioned above. The subject in its action phase (in the Newtonian sense) receives the stimulus and in its reaction phase tends to act like the object itself. If a subject *receives* a blow from an object in its action-phase it tends to react in a contrary direction, from the point of view of the subject, by *returning the blow*, i.e., it tends to act like the object. If we endow these actions and reactions with their psychological counterpart of wish-consciousness we find that the wish to receive a blow, represented by the situation of submitting to the blow,—the wish is never spontaneous but arises as a determined product of environmental factors—is always reacted on by the contrary wish of delivering the blow,



which of course may remain latent. In all voluntary actions therefore we may assume that the patent wish is regularly associated with a wish of the opposite nature which may remain latent.

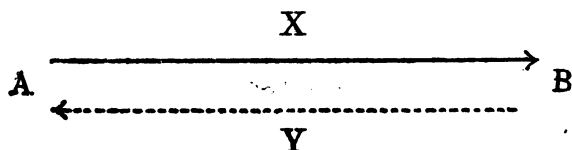
Now coming to the psychological sphere the problem of the opposite wish becomes one of supreme importance. I have shown how this wish when repressed may act in many different ways. We may now investigate its fate in all normal and unimpeded actions. The wish in such cases finds satisfaction by the mechanism of identity. It is obvious that the patent wish and its opposite latent one cannot both have actual satisfaction at one and the same time. The latent wish, which in its manifest form would exactly correspond to the situation of the object, finds satisfaction by the subject unconsciously identifying himself with the object. Unless this identification takes place the object is not apprehended by the psychae of the subject and remains a nonentity as far as the subject is concerned. This identity is the bond of relation

between the object and the subject and on it depends the true appreciation of the nature of the object. This is the basis of the reality principle. Identity, however, is not possible except it seems in the case of weak wishes in the early stage of development unless there has been an actual satisfaction of some wish of the latent type in some previous reaction. A certain development of the channels of discharge thus appears to be necessary for identification. The alternate satisfaction of the wishes of X and Y types is essential for the proper mental development of the individual. In repression this identification is defective and there is a proportional lack of appreciation of the real situation. I have already traced the mechanism of projection to this identity factor. Objectification is therefore based on the phenomenon of projection. Psychologically speaking the object is nothing but a cause for conglomeration of certain sensations projected outside the ego. In dealing with identity I have pointed out that when, to revert to our illustration, A cannot beat B owing to the

presence of the opposite wish he identifies himself with A1 who can beat or push B or B1 and thus gains vicarious pleasure.

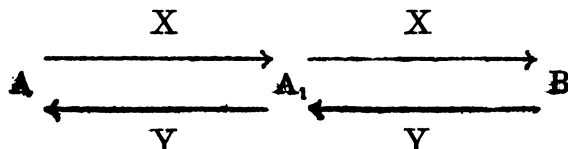
The inability of A to beat B is due to the non-development of the lower Y line. When A

Fig. 12



identifies himself with A1 to gain his end he utilises the mechanism illustrated below :—

Fig. 13



It will be seen that the X and Y lines are traversable with reference to both A and A1 and A1 and B. A cannot identify himself with A1 without this. If either the X or the Y line between A and A1 be not passable then the situation illustrated

above would lead to the development of jealousy instead of identity.

The whole environment may be looked upon as object as distinguished from the organism which is the subject. The organism either receives energy from the environment or gives out energy to the environment, *i.e.*, from the standpoint of the organism there is a passive and an active phase. When the energy of reaction is less than that of the stimulus there is storage of energy in the organism and conversely there is utilisation of stored up energy when the reaction energy is seen to be more than that of the stimulus. If we take into account the latent factor in reaction, the law of action and reaction being equal would be found to be strictly applicable. The giving out of energy leads to the development of a latent phase to receive later and conversely the receiving of energy leads to a storage and the possibility of future expenditure. Thus we find that every biological reaction may be looked upon as exhibiting both the active and the passive phase, the one being patent and the other latent.

These are the physical counterparts of the psychologically opposite wishes. The psychological wish phase which corresponds to the giving out of energy I have designated before as the X phase and the corresponding wish of the receptive phase as the Y phase. The possibility of conflict between X and Y and the consequent development of pain I have already discussed before.

It will be seen that the aim of all reactions is to bring about a state of identity between the subject and the object ultimately. The organism shows activity so long as this state of equilibrium has not been reached.

In the early stage of its life and in some reactions the passive phase is more prominent than the active phase and it is because of this that growth takes place resulting in the storage of energy. Ordinarily most of our actions show signs of conflict between the active and the passive tendencies as a result of repression. Psychologically speaking pure active and passive states without evidence of conflict are extreme rarities although their considerations are of importance from

the theoretical standpoint. A purely passive or active state would lead to the dissolution of the organism.

In our daily behaviour the rôle of the contradictory wish is not always evident. In some reactions its presence can be elicited by psychoanalysis and careful introspection while in most others it remains a theoretic conception. In the domains of sexuality and morality the contradictory wish is comparatively easy to detect although it must be remembered that in all reactions it remains latent in consciousness. But in other types of reactions, *e.g.*, nutritional etc. the latency of the opposite wish can seldom be removed so that it cannot come up in consciousness and its presence is only a matter of inference. Furthermore it seems probable that a wish is represented in the physical plane by a compound and not a simple physical process so that a simple wish, *e.g.*, to drink water, is in reality a compound product.

The simplest component of the wish to drink water in its physiological aspect is represented by

the deficiency of water in certain elements of the body. We might easily conceive of an opposite phase in which there would be the opposite tendency to give out water by the same elements. This phase may remain latent or at any rate may not have any conscious psychic counterpart so that the presence of the opposite wish would be a mere theoretic consideration. If we add to this the possibility of many different components in a particular wish we need not wonder if we do not always come across its opposite in actual life. In ordinary repressions only those wishes are concerned where the opposites are capable of being realised in consciousness.

I have designated the opposite wishes by the symbol X and Y, X representing the active phase and Y the passive phase. In normal actions the latent wish finds expression by the mechanism of identity with the object and it is on this factor that objectification and the appreciation of the object depends. Dreams give us a very good insight into this mechanism. Not only is the subject or dreamer represented by the principal personage of the dream

but every actor in the dream represents some phase of the dreamer. This can be proved very often by careful analysis. What I have described elsewhere as the see-saw mechanism in psychoneurosis also depicts this clearly. When by analysis the opposite wish or repressing factor has been brought to the consciousness of the patient cure does not take place immediately. Symptoms belonging to the repressing and the repressed forces, *i.e.*, belonging to X and Y groups, become alternately prominent. This pendulum movement goes on for some time till cure is established. The presence of the latent opposite wish is also seen very clearly in the mechanism of projection. Then again the presence in language of the same word having opposite meanings and opposite expressions having the same meaning are indications of the simultaneous operations of both X and Y wishes.\* Schizophrenic negativism also shows this mechanism.†

\* Freud. The Opposite Meaning of Root Words, *Psychoanalytic Review*, vol. iv, p. 349.

† Bleuler. *The Theory of Schizophrenic Negativism*, Eng. Trans., p. 35.



Very often symbolic actions are capable of being interpreted on opposite lines, *i.e.*, both with regard to the X and the Y wishes.‡ I would urge that in such cases both the explanations are correct as we have got to take into account the latent wish also. I would go even further and say that *all* the *possible* explanations for any symbolism are correct, some of course being more important than the other.

Since in all reactions both the X and the Y phases are simultaneously present the one in a patent and the other in a latent form it becomes necessary to investigate the conditions under which the one or the other becomes manifest. In connection with repression I have pointed out how environmental conditions may lead to the development of the channels of discharge of the wish of a particular type and bring about a sort of valvular obstruction towards the expression of its opposite. This view however does not explain why in normal individuals, given the same environment, wishes of different and

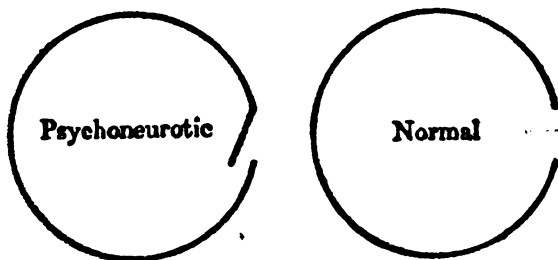
‡ Freud. *Papers on Hysteria and Other Psychoneuroses*, Eng. Trans., p. 199

opposite types should gain prominence; neither does it explain the psychical difference between the male and the female. If we consider heredity as an environment we find our difficulties removed in an eminent measure. If we revert to our simile of the elastic bag and water we may assume that the female characteristic in which the Y phase is more prominent is due to a peculiar constitutional development, so that the receptacle instead of being entire and elastic is non-yielding and is provided with another outlet besides its normal channel of discharge; thus the tension of the X phase need not rise beyond a certain intensity below the level of consciousness in characteristic female reactions. There would be no conflict in such reactions. I am aware of the weak points of an analogical exposition and I have postulated the above simply to prove that theoretically at least it would be possible to extend the concept of the opposite wish to include all possible spheres of reaction.

According to the above view the difference between a psychoneurotic and a normal individual lies

in the fact that in the former there is a valvular obstruction in the channel of discharge whereas in the latter there is none. The psychoneurotic feels pain in the ordinary reactions of life because of the accumulated tension due to the presence of the valve. The normal individual on the other hand does not experience any such pain. There are however situations in which normal individuals also suffer pain. This, it seems, is due to

**Fig. 14**



the excessive intensity of either the X or the Y stimulus so that the channel of discharge or the receptacle suffers undue tension. The wider the

channel the greater is the adaptibility to the surroundings and the less the chance of pain. But there are constitutional limits to this ; a certain amount of pain in certain reactions, therefore, seems to be inevitable. I have, however, grounds for believing that when all repression has been removed the tension due to excessive stimulus is not felt as pain, but there is a sort of peaceful and passive resignation to the inevitable situation. There is no fruitless struggle with its accompanying unpleasantness. It would appear that in such cases the illusion of the freedom of the will disappears from consciousness.

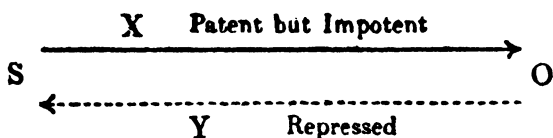
I have had occasion to examine a few cases in which the subjects, all normal persons in the ordinary sense, could undergo suffering with resignation. The passive factor or the Y phase could be traced with comparative ease in these cases but the functioning of the opposite X phase was rather difficult to detect. There was, no doubt, some amount of identification with the environment with a proportionate sympathy for the other side, *i.e.*, with the factor which caused the suffering, but this identifica-

tion was not complete so that a certain amount of repression existed; but even in such cases the pain of struggle was avoided by an unconscious or partly conscious appreciation of the latent X phase in the Y situation. The subjects appreciated that it required strength to suffer or in other words there was an active phase in suffering represented by the will to suffer. There was also another aspect of the latent X phase, *viz.*, that in checking the tendency to action or in the will not to act. In the converse situation when the individual has got to act under some compulsion the mechanism of the avoidance of pain is exactly similar to that of the above. In such cases the Y phase of the situation is latent. The subject resigns himself to the situation and thus appreciates the Y phase. He also realises that there is a passive phase in submitting to the destruction of his passivity. This last phase could only be elucidated with the greatest difficulty in my subjects. I put in a tabular form the working of the above mechanisms. It will be seen that the above attitudes of resignation arise only when the individual wish does not corres-

pond with the external situation or in other words when there is repression.

Mechanism of Resignation where subject faces  
Y situation in X attitude

Fig. 15



In such a situation Y is not only latent but repressed. Had there been no repression Y would have been patent and X latent and all struggle avoided.

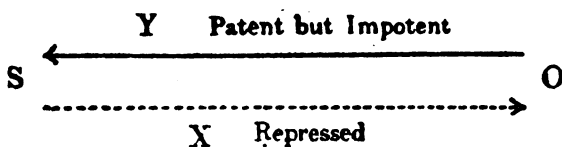
1. Appreciation of the X wish which is in consciousness but which is impotent
2. Incomplete identification with O or partial appreciation of the latent Y. This would serve to neutralise 1 and bring about relief in tension. In complete and perfect identification Y would have

been patent and X latent and there would be complete neutralisation

3. Active submission to passivity, neutralisation of Y by X
4. Active destruction of activity, neutralisation of X by Y

Mechanism of Resignation where subject faces X situation in Y attitude

Fig. 16



1. Appreciation of the Y wish
2. Incomplete identification with O or partial appreciation of the X
3. Passive submission to activity, neutralisation of X by Y
4. Submission to destruction of passivity, neutralisation of Y by X

Let me illustrate the resignation mechanisms by our familiar example. When A is beaten by B and submits to the situation with resignation, we may by analysis discern the following processes :—

1. A does not want to be beaten by B. This is conscious. This negative attitude is the outcome of a desire to act in some contrary way as has been explained previously. This contrary wish according to my supposition is the wish to beat B
2. A sympathises with B and understands the motives which prompts B to beat A, *i.e.*, he places himself in B's position and feels the same desire
3. A feels that there is strength in suffering and that he is powerful. This is in contrast to the helplessness of the situation
4. A feels his strength in checking his tendency of not submitting to B's thrash-



ing, *i.e.*, in checking his tendency to act in an opposite way

In the opposite case of A having to beat B under compulsion the mechanisms are as follows :—

1. A does not want to beat B because of an opposite desire
2. A identifies himself with B who is being beaten and gets a satisfaction of his opposite desire which is to be beaten
3. A submits passively to the compulsion which makes him beat B, *i.e.*, he appreciates his passive phase
4. A would not like to beat B, *i.e.*, he would like to remain passive, to be beaten by B according to theory. In beating B he passively allows this passive attitude to be destroyed

Unless there is some identification with the object, *i.e.*, unless factors 1 and 2 are present, factors 3 and 4 are not appreciated and the state of resignation mentioned above is impossible. The above mechanisms are of importance inasmuch as they give

us an insight into the psychology of the different types of obedience, pleasurable and painful duty, etc. Suggestion and hypnosis also may be explained on this line. The methods of producing hypnosis aim at the restriction of all voluntary activities and the subject is asked to be passive. Under these conditions the Y phase becomes prominent and since the X phase becomes more or less completely latent the touch with the reality is lost and there is a proportionate lack of consciousness. It would appear that even in ordinary obedience there is some loss of the appreciation of reality and to that extent obedience is blind.

All actions done under the influence of suggestion are actions of the passive type, *i.e.*, they conform to the mechanisms exhibited by the subject who faces an X situation in Y attitude without any struggle.

The development of the Y phase is an interesting phenomenon and needs elucidation. If we could check all exhibitions of the X phase the development of the Y phase would become easy and this would be attended with loss of consciousness. I have

mentioned before in connection with the unconsciousness of the repressed wish that consciousness only arises where there is some resistance, hence a pure X or a pure Y state would be an unconscious state. In what has been described as hypnosis in animals, the methods employed consist in the restriction of all voluntary movements. If this restriction be maintained for some time the Y phase develops.

The Y phase in such cases is the direct outcome of the feeling of utter helplessness. In human beings also the sense of helplessness brings about an increased suggestibility. Besides this condition of helplessness there is another condition in which the Y phase may develop. When there has been complete identity with another individual there is no obstruction in the latent phase with reference to suggestions coming from that individual. The two types of hypnosis, the father type and the mother type, mentioned by Ferenczi,\* would correspond to the two different modes of development mentioned above.

\* Ferenczi. *Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, p. 59 and following

The relaxation of the censor in dreams, *i.e.*, the diminished activity of the repressing wish becomes easily explainable if we assume sleep as a Y phase exhibiting resignation mechanism. There is also a similar relaxation of the censor in the passive state demanded in free association. The subject is instructed to resign himself to his thoughts and the greater the resignation the greater is the success of free association in unearthing repressed wishes.

The manifestations of the pure X phase require to be further investigated. Maniacal outbursts, running amok etc. would correspond to this. In all organisms the X and the Y phases show a certain periodicity as manifested in waking life and sleep. This periodicity may be compared to the see-saw mechanism mentioned before. Repair and growth are only possible during the Y phase. The curative aspects of suggestion, hypnoid state and hypnosis without suggestion and sleep are directly due to this factor. I have found that in certain psychoneurotics with repressions of the Y type a change of scenery sometimes brings about relief.

The effect is most marked when the subject is brought into contact with the immensity of nature, *e.g.*, sea, high mountains, etc. Such patients take to astronomy and other sciences, where they might be face to face with the infinite aspect of nature, as their hobbies. The relief that these patients derive under such conditions may be traced to the functioning of the Y phase which such situations help to develop.

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## CHAPTER XVII

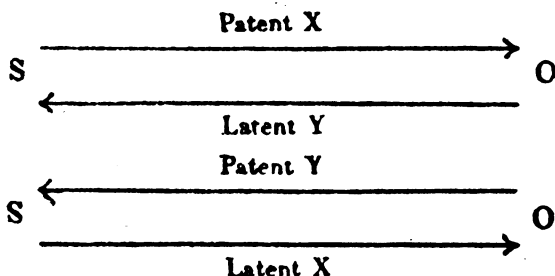
### REALITY AND CAUSATION

When we perceive an object we take up a definite action attitude with reference to it. This action attitude corresponds to the *meaning* of the object. There cannot be any perception without this factor. A perception always carries with it a latent possibility for action. We might postulate a hypothetical wish corresponding to this action attitude. According to my view this wish, again, is composed of two contradictory factors, one of which is patent and conscious and the other latent and unconscious. This latent phase of the wish finds satisfaction by the mechanism of projection which is nothing but identity with the object. We might illustrate this by our conventional diagram, Fig. 17.

The appreciation of reality depends on the proper functioning of both the upper and the lower lines. When both the lines are traversable the tissue of our experience splits up into two aspects, the objective

and the subjective. Under certain definite conditions our attention is directed towards either the one or the

Fig. 17



other, so that, to some individual and at certain times, either the objective or the subjective world appears more real than the other. The materialistic and the idealistic philosophers belong to these two groups respectively. From a perfect materialistic or a perfect idealistic standpoint the bond of relationship between the subject and the object, as represented by the functionings of the upper and the lower lines, would be neglected and all the world phenomena would be explained in terms of the one or the other.

Whenever the working of this bond of relationship is partial confusion is likely to result.

There is an innate tendency in the human mind to find an explanation for every phenomenon whether it be physical or psychical. Psychologically speaking, this demand for causation is a projection symptom and depends on the functioning of the wish which remains latent. The objectification of sensations and the demand for causation belong to the same category. An object is the *cause* for a certain group of sensations projected outside the ego. When objectification takes place a part of the ego identifies itself with the object. This is the latent wish and in the terminology of psychophysical parallelism this identification corresponds with the interaction of the psychic energy of the object with the psychae. I have pointed out elsewhere that an object is not perceived at all unless there is an action attitude with reference to it, so there is no anomaly in assuming the factor of the latent *wish* in objectification. I have said in connection with identity and projection that in the latter the subject places himself in the position of the object



and thereby finds satisfaction for the repressed wish. Objectification and projection therefore owe their origin to the same mechanism. In objectification the wish is of the latent type and not repressed. If we widen the significance of the term projection, we might say that in projection lies the clue to the relationship between the mental and the material phenomena. Projection is the basis of the reality principle as well as of the principle of causation.\* Localisation whether in time or space is dependent on it.

Just as there is the objective counterpart of a perception, so for a change of perception we perceive a corresponding change in object. The appreciation of the change which forms a distinct perception by itself is further associated with a projection process to account for it. This results in the postulation of energy. In explaining the objective change the energy is taken to be material and the change in the psychic experience is explained on the parallelistic doctrine as due to energy of the psychic type.

\* Cf. Freud. *Totem and Taboo*, p. 107

Similarly the continuity of psychic experience is represented by the ego or the personality. This corresponds on the physical plane to the doctrine of the indestructibility of matter which is really an expression of continuity.

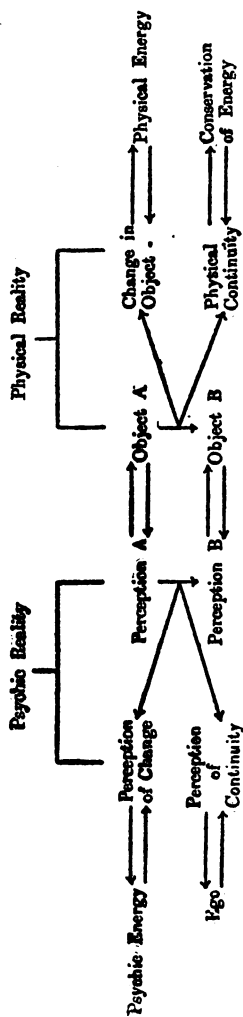
If we take our objective experience as true, the postulation of energy becomes a psychical necessity because of the projection factor, and we need not feel surprised when we come across anomalies such as energy which is itself immaterial, producing a material change. In fact the energy is only perceived because of the change it produces in the object.

The causation corresponding to projection of a perception is static and is perceived as a reality but the causation corresponding to the experience of change of perception is dynamic and is hypothetical. The static type of causation has the anomalous feature denounced by the parallelists of material object standing as cause for mental phenomenon. We might here point out that after projection has taken place there is no further desire for a causation. Thus we never try to find out the cause for an object.

Although we try to account for the change in an object the object itself is beyond the pale of causation, unless indeed we try to find its cause in the opposite direction in perception. We may illustrate the above in tabular form, Fig. 18.

The object is the outward counterpart of the action attitude of the ego ; so when a repressed wish in trying to find expression, modifies the action attitude corresponding to a particular object there is falsification of the reality and the characteristics of the object are wrongly perceived. This is the basis of rationalisation. The tendency in us to find outside cause for all inner experiences coupled with the functioning of the repressed wish is responsible for the production of illusions and hallucinations. The repressed wish is not allowed satisfaction with reference to its proper object but allies itself with a wish of similar type so that the action corresponding to the allied wish gains a second but unconscious motivation. The object in such cases therefore does not merely stand for what it is but acts as a symbol for something more. The exaggerated significance of the object is explained by

Fig. 18



assumed characteristics of the object which are really not present. On the other hand the impotency of the repressing wish is explained by the exaggeration of undesirable features and external difficulties and ethical, social and religious prohibitions. Both the repressed and the repressing wishes therefore offer opportunities for rationalisation.

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## CHAPTER XVIII

### REPRESSION IN NORMAL LIFE

The field of repression in normal life is very much wider than is usually believed. Our ideas of morality, crime, punishment, chastity, social duty etc. all owe their motive powers to this source. There are of course other factors in operation but they are more or less contributory.

Let us first turn our attention to the evolution of ethical ideas. Whatever may be the biological and other factors concerned in the development of moral feeling, in the individual they may be always traced to the operation of the conscience. The whole structure of morality rests on the foundation of conscience as far as the individual is concerned. But conscience has been an elusive thing and attempts at analysis have not as yet been very successful. The operations of the conscience resemble those of a psychoneurotic obsession. As regards an immoral act, the reason of its

being immoral is never satisfactorily answered. The conviction of immorality comes to our consciousness as an apparently primary experience. It acts as an obsession and cannot be removed by argument. The inhibitory tendency of conscience in an immoral act really owes its strength to the factor of the opposite wish and as such remains hidden and is beyond the pale of reason. The idea of an act having an ethical value only arises when its opposite is capable of being realised. No sharp line can be drawn between criminal and immoral actions and our notions of punishment in connection with crimes give us a very important insight into the functionings of the conscience. I shall illustrate this by our familiar example. To beat a person is not usually considered proper and such an act has not the approval of our conscience; so when a person P sees A beating B, his ethical sense is aggrieved and his first impulse is that of punishing A for his offence by thrashing him. "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth," is the primitive and primary principle of revenge as well as punishment. The punisher

wants to repeat exactly the same thing as the offender has done and never perceives the absurdity of the situation. When P is asked to explain by an outsider why he thrashed A he replies "because A beat B". This explanation satisfies almost everybody and no further attempt is made to investigate P's behaviour. According to my view in every one of us both the wish to beat B and the wish to be beaten by B are present. One of these wishes, let us suppose the wish to be beaten by B, is repressed and renders the other wish to beat B impotent. Because of this repression factor the wish to beat is inhibited and the corresponding action develops an ethical value. The repressed wish however seeks opportunity for fulfilment by eluding the censor or the repressing factor. When P sees A beating B he identifies himself with B, if the repression be not intense, and gains a vicarious satisfaction of his wish to be beaten. This identification opens up the channel of discharge for the repressed wish and removes the inhibition to some extent so that the hitherto impotent and unappreciated wish to beat



finds vent in action. Thus when he explains his thrashing of A on the ground of A beating B he is not much at fault. Because of this repression mechanism, our ideas of punishment have been vitiated with the feeling of revenge. The true aim of punishment should be prevention and cure. From this social standpoint we are justified in inflicting pain on an offender only in so far as it protects society by preventing the offender from committing further mischief and brings about a cure in the punished individual. The existence of repression has interfered with our clear appreciation of the nature of existing punishments which very often serve as excuses for the discharge of our repressed sadistic wishes. The question of responsibility in crime has attracted to itself an entirely false significance owing to the operation of the same factor. The behaviour of the normal individual, the lunatic and the child are all determined by hereditary and environmental factors and the one is no more responsible than the other. The freedom of action of the normal individual is a myth. If we can

appreciate this clearly, which I think is only possible with the removal of repression, all ideas of revenge in punishment and punishment for punishment's sake become out of place. Under such conditions the modern jails would have to be replaced by psychological clinics and infirmaries; and infliction of punishment would only be undertaken under advice of competent authorities.

It is evident that with the removal of repression the moral value of an action entirely disappears and to such a person all behaviour becomes amoral. It is of passing interest to note that the Vedanta philosophy also postulates this state for the all-wise *jiban-mukta* (free-in-life) individual.

On analysis, the social prohibitions, duties and religious commandments, all afford evidences of conflict as a result of repression. In some of these the complications arising out of symbolism may render the mechanisms of operation of the opposite wish less easy to detect.

The bisexual constitution of man with its multiple cravings of different and contradictory

nature affords many interesting repression problems. Modesty, chastity etc. could all be looked upon as repression phenomena. In psychopathology we sometimes come across cases of individuals of the male sex showing essentially feminine cravings such as that of bearing a child. Such cases have been explained on grounds of bisexuality. But the problem of the fate of such cravings in normal life remains to be solved. It is obvious that the wish of a male individual to bear a child can never have an actual fulfilment. In fact in normal persons such wishes never come up in consciousness but usually remain latent. They can seek fulfilment only by imaginary activities. A dramatist in creating his characters has to conjure up the cravings of each and thus he gives expression to such wishes. The hero is not the only character through whom repressed desires find vent. Every character in a good drama represents some phase or other of the author's repressed or latent cravings. So also in dreams. Usually however such impossible wishes find satisfaction by the mechanism of identity. When a

male loves a female his female cravings find satisfaction in the activities of his beloved by identification. According to the nature of these cravings and the amount of repression operating on them the male develops certain ideals of female life and expects their realisation in his partner. The male attitude towards female aspirations is determined by such factors.

Owing to the presence of repression such questions as female liberty, female emancipation, female voting etc. are seldom discussed dispassionately by males. There is a polygamous side in our sexual constitution in both its male and female aspects. The male exhibits different types of reaction in dealing with his female polygamous nature. If the repression be perfect he becomes an ardent champion of chastity in the female and would not like his female nature to come in contact with other male elements, *i.e.*, he becomes a strict defender of the *purdah* system and always extols it. Such a person would not like his wife to mix in male company. The hankerings of a certain class of

married men to visit prostitutes would be explainable on the grounds of a repression of the type mentioned above. I have had occasion to analyse a few such cases. All of them were ardent advocates of female chastity. When such a person goes to a prostitute he really gives vent to his polygamous female nature as the prostitute is a female who is visited by many individuals. The real significance of the action remains hidden, the censor is avoided and there is unaccountable pleasure. The prostitute in many such cases is sexually less attractive than the wife. This type of person would often like to visit the prostitute along with a company of male friends and would like to escort her to public places where there are risks of jeers and taunts directed to the woman. This is the type of person who organises musical parties and feasts in the prostitute's house. He does not very much care for sexual intercourse and there is no love for the woman. With the development of love the attitude changes and free mixing is progressively disallowed. In those persons in whom the repression is less intense the idea of female

liberty develops and gains an almost obsessional intensity. They become violent champions of female liberty and would always exaggerate the evils of the *purdah* system. In all these different attitudes taken up by the male there are always willing female supporters as the conflict is present in the case of the females also.

Modesty in women has been studied by many different observers and various theories, biological and psychological have been propounded to explain the manifestations thereof. That modesty exists in the male also is well-known, but it has not as yet attracted sufficient notice. I believe that both male and female modesty owe their origin to the operations of the same factor, *viz.*, repression. Modesty is the expression of a struggle between two opposite desires. It is only on such a view that we can explain certain aspects of modesty, *e.g.*, the pleasure of being violated. If we turn our attention to only one phase of modesty, *viz.*, that connected with exhibitionism we find that in the modest woman there is an effort to hide the personal charms

especially those linked with sexuality. I have mentioned before that exhibitionism is opposed by the contradictory desire to look (peeping tendency). In modesty the exhibitionism becomes latent and the wish to see is rendered more or less impotent. Both these factors are discernible in all modest situations. When a modest girl is suddenly confronted in some delicate situation there is an involuntary effort in hiding the face with the hands; but at the same time there is a tendency in her to look between the fingers. The veiled woman always makes an effort to look in a coy manner from under the veil. The peeping and evesdropping tendency is much in evidence in *purdah* ladies when a newly-married couple retires to the bedroom. This is in strange contrast to their extraordinarily modest behaviour on other occasions. The evolution of the feminine dress gives us a very clear insight into the working of the repressed exhibitionistic tendency. The female dress may be examined from two opposite standpoints. It hides the naked charms but at the same time it imparts

prominence to the secondary sexual organs such as the bust and the nates. In Bengali women the tri-bordered *sari* (cloth) underlines as it were the breasts and the buttocks. The artistic dress of the extremely modest orthodox zenana lady has this peculiarity that the upward movement of the right arm in drawing the veil leads to an exposure of the right breast. In concealing the one thing face, does the lady involuntarily expose in addition to the charms of the cheeks three other sexual zones, the right armpit, right breast and, when turning round to fly, the nates too. A particular fashion in dress to be generally accepted must satisfy these contradictory demands.

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## CHAPTER XIX

### PSYCHOLOGY OF SMELL

It is a well-known fact that in some of the lower animals the sense of smell plays a very important part in the psychic life. In the shark we find that the olfactory lobes are developed out of proportion to the other areas of the brain. In the dog also the sense of smell is very highly developed and bloodhounds have been used to track criminals through the help of smell alone, with a certainty that appears nothing short of miraculous. In bees and ants smell plays a very important part in maintaining the social structure. Unfortunately in the case of man little work has been done on the sensation of smell and the idea prevails that smell plays merely a subordinate part in human affairs. The classification of smell is as yet far from perfect and Zwaardemaker's list does not appear to be scientific. The chief difficulty in classification seems to be the almost infinite number of differentiable smell

qualities on the subjective side and the lack of any definite objective criterion on the physical side. From *a priori* grounds we would expect a close relationship between the chemico-physical constitution of an object and its smell. Experimental results have also confirmed this to a certain extent. The gradual changing of odours as we ascend in organic series is something very peculiar and many scientific men have been at work on this point. Modern physiologists have devoted a good deal of time and energy in elucidating the chemistry and the physiology of smell and the results as far as they go are extremely interesting. From the psychological standpoint however very little progress has been made. It has been common knowledge that smell has a specially close relationship with feeling and memory. A whiff of perfume would often rouse up long-forgotten memories, cheerful or depressing as the case may be. The connection between smell and sexual function has been observed by many sexuologists. Puppies in which the olfactory mucosa have been destroyed by surgical operation

fail to find their mates when they grow up. The part that smell plays in the sexual life of man has been, I believe, underestimated. I have observed several cases in which anosmia has been accompanied with impotency and the cure of the nasal condition resulted in a complete restoration of the sexual power. Batsayan, one of the greatest sexuologists of the world, has classified women according to the smell they emanate and his observation extends to the smell of the vaginal secretion also. During excitement the odoriferous emanation from an individual becomes very prominent; some of my patients never allow their partners to use scents or powders so that the body-odour may not be disguised. In normal individuals smell with reference to sexual function is not generally in the forefront of consciousness, but a little careful observation would convince us of the extreme importance of body-odours in normal sexual attractions. Krafft Ebing contends that it is only in abnormal persons that smell plays an important part in the sexual life. My observations have led me to believe that in normal persons

also is smell of paramount importance, although this fact would ordinarily escape observation owing to the preponderance of visual and other factors. Old Sanskrit writers have specified the smell of an excited individual by a distinct name, *viz. parimal*.

As in the sphere of reproduction so also in nutrition do we find smell playing a very important part. What we call flavour of food is really the blend of smell and taste. Most of our daily dishes lose their taste when we get catarrh of the nose. The art of cooking is mainly concerned with improving the flavour of the foodstuff. Hot spicy food is generally preferred in catarrh to make up for the loss of smell.

The use of flowers and scents in social intercourse, of incense in religious ceremonies, is suggestive of the importance of the olfactory sensation.

The main psychological attribute of a particular smell is its pleasantness or unpleasantness which is popularly believed to be an inherent character. It must not be forgotten however that a smell which

might be pleasant to one individual may be extremely obnoxious to another. Some people positively hate the smell of musk or violet. The smell of cheese so much relished by Westerners is considered abominable by most of the Eastern people. Again a smell which may be considered pleasant at first may later on become highly unpleasant. Whether such pleasantness or unpleasantness results from associational factors or from some peculiarity of the smell itself are questions that deserve serious attention. I do not mean to take up this problem from the biological standpoint, where pleasantness or unpleasantness would be interpreted in terms of benefit or disadvantage to the species. My problem is essentially psychological.

I would here cite a few instances which would throw some light on the affect quality of smell. The smell of a decomposing body is generally considered highly revolting; but cases are on record where necrophilic persons have dug up bodies in a high state of decomposition from the graves and eaten the same with relish. In ancient Sanskrit works

such persons, generally females, have been described under the term *kankalini*. The assertion that it is only in abnormal persons that such manifestations occur does not appear to be valid. In the first place no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between the normal and the abnormal and I have known perfectly normal medical students enjoying the smell from decomposing bodies in the dissection room. Salted *hilsa* fish which is considered to be a delicacy by the Bengalis has an odour resembling that of the decomposing body very closely. A little careful analytical observation would prove that the smell of roasted meat has an element in common with the smell of the decomposing flesh. We might also point out elements of similarity between the smell of cheese and faeces, saffron and iodoform, musk and the secretion from the human navel, vinegar and sweat, onions and sweat in some individuals and faeces. Many such illustrations may be mentioned. In some cases similarity between a pleasant and an unpleasant odour is not so apparent and it requires a delicately trained sense of smell to detect the

resemblance. Very few people would agree that freshly distilled rose-water and urine have something in common in the odour. Yet this is a fact that would be apparent to the careful observer free from all bias. Similarly we might mention the instances of tobacco and decomposing urine; fresh cabbages and decomposing body; the smell from a stable and musk; semen and cucumber or acacia. It may be here mentioned that chemistry would support this introspective evidence in some cases. In the vinegar and sweat the same compounds of the acetic acid group are common elements.

The above illustrations would help us to perceive that what we call a good or a bad odour is very often a matter of association, so that an odour which under a particular circumstance is considered offensive is thought to be very pleasant when the conditions are different. The intrinsic affective value of a particular odour is very difficult to determine and experiments on young children, animals and unbiased trained observers are necessary to elucidate this point.

Each species of animal is characterised by a peculiar odour. When the species are allied the odour is also similar. In the human species we can appreciate racial and even individualistic difference. Odoriferous substances of the living human body are the sweat, specially when it is decomposing, the secretion from the axillae and the pubic region, the exhalation from the lungs and mouth, the urine, the faeces, the flatus, the semen and the secretions from the navel and the prepuce or the vagina. In the diseased condition the smell may be modified and secretions which are normally odourless may have distinct and characteristic odours. All these different odours I have included under the common term *body-odour*. Careful observation would show that a great many of the odours which we consider to be offensive have some elements in common with these body-odours, and I shall not be at all surprised if all the offensive odours that we are cognisant of be ultimately found to have some component of body-odour. Of course I do not



classify irritants along with odours. From the biological standpoint it would be seen that the body secretions specially in the decomposing state are harmful to the organism and for the proper protection of species they ought to be associated with some appreciable unpleasant quality. Curiously enough from the same standpoint we would expect the primary pleasant odours also to be associated with food and sex, factors vitally connected with the maintenance of the individual and the race respectively. Sex odour is essentially a body-odour and food is either animal or vegetable so that ultimately again the organic odour becomes one of prime importance where pleasantness is concerned. Experiments are necessary to determine whether the pleasant odours, e.g., those of flowers etc. have anything in common with the body-odours. As regards the pleasant odour of food introspection would supply such evidence.

The question of blending of odours has also some bearing on this problem. Theoretically if the above view be correct we would expect that

of two pleasant odours, the one that blended better with the body-odour would be considered more pleasant. In this connection it is worth noting that musk lavender is considered by the majority of persons to be more pleasant than ordinary lavender. Musk, as is well-known, is the secretion from the navel of the musk-deer and resembles the similar human secretion in odour to a certain extent. Manufacturets have found by experience that the addition of minute quantities of scatol and indol, both constituents of the faeces, to scents improves their quality in an appreciable measure. In Burma and Chittagong there is a fruit called the *durian*, the odour of which resembles very closely that of the faeces. Minute quantities of this are added to ordinary dishes to improve their flavour and quality. In certain Indian *chutnies* a salt which contains sulphide and asafetida are added to improve the flavour. The odours of both these substances have something in common with the odour of the flatus. The flavour of a large number of delicate dishes may on

careful introspection be found to resemble or to have something in common with one or other of the body-odours.' In the case of perfumes such resemblance is difficult to detect. We might however note that the perfumes have generally flowery odours that is sexual odours of the vegetable kingdom. Whether there is any resemblance between the sexual odours of the vegetable kingdom and those of the animal kingdom are matters for experimental enquiry. The odour of the *kānthali champa* (*artabotrys odoratissimus*) resembles that of the smegma to a certain extent. There is a thorny plant (local name *kushmal*) found in the Simla district bearing a flower the smell of which resembles that of the semen very closely.

Why is it that an odour is sometimes thought to be pleasant and sometimes unpleasant? How does association act in such cases? These are questions of scientific interest. An insight into the mechanism of these problems may be gained from the study of psychoanalytic cases. I had a patient who had a positive aversion to the faintest body-smell. This

patient had been suffering from washing mania. After the cure was established by psychoanalysis a very curious change was evident. The individual's repugnance was replaced by attraction towards body-odours.

Many have drawn attention to the fact that children have special attraction towards faeces.\* It is only with the advancing age and when social inhibitions begin to operate that the attraction towards faeces is replaced by repugnance. This repugnance is the result of repression. Freud has emphasised the innate constitutional factors of repression which go hand in hand with the environmental factors. I have already shown in a previous chapter how such repression occurs. As a result of this repression the original pleasurable affect is transformed into an unpleasurable one. It will be an interesting pursuit no doubt to find out whether in normal persons disgust towards faeces and other allied substances can be removed by psychoanalysis. My idea is that

\* Ferenczi. *Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, p. 273

if the analysis be deep enough this is possible, and I have several cases on record where such repugnance has been removed. The repression of the original infantile erogenous zones carries with it a series of affective readjustments resulting in the change of the originally pleasurable sensations into unpleasant ones. It might seem rash to assert at the present stage of our knowledge that all unpleasant affects result from repression of the original quality of pleasantness, but my investigations have predisposed me to believe that originally nothing is unpleasant. Love, with its pleasurable attributes is the fundamental feeling. Hatred, disgust, enmity etc. are but repression effects. I have already discussed this problem in a previous chapter with the necessary details. In connection with this problem I have pointed out that all our reactions may be classified under two opposite groups, *viz.*, X and Y. Self-assertion, domination, sadism, assimilation, engulfing etc. are manifestations of X type. Under Y comes self-abasement, masochism, servility, giving oneself away, being engulfed etc.

As these primitive reactions are mainly concerned with the individual's food and sex-life and as both X and Y when taken by themselves are associated with pleasurable feelings we can easily appreciate why the body-odours should form the primary pleasurable standard for comparison. The factors concerned with the satisfaction of X and Y are of contradictory nature and directly they come into force simultaneously, there is a struggle and a consequent repression of either X or Y according to environmental conditions. Thus originally pleasurable qualities undergo a transformation during repression resulting in the formation of unpleasant affects. Unpleasantness thus results from the struggle between two pleasant qualities. From this standpoint there is no such thing as an inherently unpleasant smell. In this connection it is instructive to note that both pleasant and unpleasant odours excite the same sort of physiological reaction. The pleasant flavour of foodstuffs as well as an unpleasant odour bring about salivation; in the former case the saliva is swallowed and in the

latter it is spat out. It must however be always remembered that repression is a natural process in the evolution of the individual and it is quite conceivable that where such repression has occurred very early in psychic life there will be an appearance of innateness in the unpleasant quality. I am fully alive to the sweeping nature of this assertion. It gives us a standpoint entirely different from that of the classical psychologists. My idea is that unpleasantness is always the result of a struggle or in other words of repression.

Wherever there is repression the repressed material would tend to come out as a symbolic representation. When such symbolism is successful or in other words where the complex is able to elude the censor perfectly, there arises pleasure from the symptomatic act, but where the symbolism is less efficient the original unpleasant affect of the struggle is also carried into the symbolic action. In the department of smell we find, in the majority of persons, varying degrees of aversion towards the body-odours. A body-odour, if recognised as such,

is considered unpleasant, but when it comes to us in some hidden or modified form it resembles a successful symbol and carries with it pleasant qualities. Thus the odour of sweat loses its unpleasantness when it comes to us as a component of the odour of vinegar. Not only is the unpleasantness removed by such mechanism but a distinct relish takes its place (*Cf.* the mechanism of wit.) The smell of onion, although resembling faeces to a certain extent, is relished in food because here the points of similarity are not ordinarily noticed and the result is that of a perfect symbolism. Whenever the meaning of symbolism becomes clear the struggle returns and the unpleasant affect comes up. In some persons the dislike for onion may be explained as due to a partial return of the struggle. We find that as culture progresses symbolism ceases to be less efficient in all departments and in connection with this the dislike for onion among the higher classes is significant.

There is a popular belief that meat, onion and similar articles excite the sexual function. No



scientific proof of this is forthcoming. Yet the belief is very deeply rooted among the laity of different countries. The rowdism and the general militant trait of the Mahomedan population as compared with the mildness of the Hindus are popularly explained as due to the difference in food between the two sects. As I have already mentioned before, the body-odours forming rather a prominent component part of foodstuffs, such as meat, onion, etc., it is easily conceivable that such odours would serve to excite the sexual function as well. Under these conditions the supposed exciting character of such food would be traced to psychological rather than to physiological factors. I have observed in a large number of cases that the repression of sexual desire very often results in a development of anger and other allied affects. Thus meat-food by rousing up sexual propensities may play an indirect part in rowdism. The popular belief thus receives a scientific explanation. Whether this explanation is true or not I am not prepared to dogmatise, but merely hazard a conjecture. The partaking of

meat-food, onion and similar savoury articles by a Hindu widow is strictly forbidden by the *shastras*. Precepts of the *shastras* prescribe absolute abstinence in the widows. The ideal of *brahmacharyya* (abstinence) is that nothing sexual should be done, thought or even dreamt of. To maintain this ideal strict rules and dietary are formulated. The food advocated for the widows in the Hindu *shastras* is what is called *swaticḥ* food. A careful analysis of a list of *swaticḥ* food would show that the ingredients are mostly insipid and without much flavour.

As regards the use of spices and other savoury materials in food, the odours of the aromatic series and those of onion, garlic, etc., receive prominence. The flowery odours are but of little use for flavouring foodstuffs except in the case of light dishes. The converse holds true in the case of perfumes where the flowery odours are much more in favour. The perfumes are generally used on social occasions, that is, when the sexual factor is more prominent. Flowery odours represent, as we have already

mentioned, the sexual odours of the vegetable kingdom and their connection with the human body-odour is discernible with extreme difficulty. These factors would render the flowery odours eminently suited to stand as symbols for sex attraction. Where body-odours are prominent the sexual significance would be very much apparent and the symbolism would not be perfect and would thus fail in its purpose. In the case of food no such objection is apparent, hence we find the prominence of the gross bodily-odours in flavouring articles of food. Light refreshments have more a social than a nutritional importance and thus the use of flowery odour in connection with light refreshments is intelligible. In the early stage of civilisation, at least in India, the perfumes used such as *aguru*, *hena*, *musk*, *chooa*, etc., had a greater preponderance of the constituents of the body-odour than the perfumes used at the present time. Among the most cultured people of the present day the use of perfume is at a discount.

I have noticed in a large number of my

psychoanalytic cases especially those suffering from obsessional symptoms an inordinate tendency to partake of meat in hotels. I must here point out that among a large section of the Indian population daily meat-eating is not in vogue. It is only occasionally that meat dishes are served at home, and although there are hotels and eating houses which serve meat dishes in every big town, these institutions unlike those of Western countries are looked down upon by the indigenous population. This attitude is certainly fast disappearing but even now among a large number of persons the partaking of meat dishes, especially poultry, etc., proscribed in the *shastras*, is considered a sort of forbidden pleasure. The hotel thus in the Indian mind stands as a symbol for a repressed pleasure affect and the satisfaction, that accrues to an Indian visitor to a public eating house, is something more than the satisfaction resulting from the appeasing of the hunger instinct alone. One of my obsessional psychoneurotic patients tells me that whenever his symptoms become very troublesome he goes to an

eating house and partakes of a full meat dish with the result that his symptoms cease to trouble him for sometime to come. This particular patient's troubles are due to an unsatisfied sexual complex and his sexual need is apparently satisfied temporarily by a nutritional activity. Partaking of unsavoury dishes would not satisfy the demand. Meat and other similarly flavoured articles are absolutely essential to attain this end.

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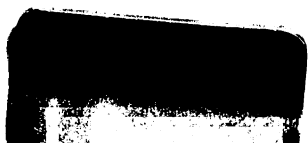
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